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**JOURNAL OF THE MANCHESTER
EGYPTIAN & ORIENTAL
SOCIETY**

1913-14



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OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY

- (i.) To discuss questions of interest with regard to the languages, literatures, history and archæology of Egypt and the Orient.
- (ii.) To help the work of the excavating societies in any way possible.
- (iii.) To issue, if possible, a Journal. If this is not possible, to print at least a Report, including abstracts of the papers read at the meetings of the Society.¹

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¹ There is a *Special Publications Fund*, for which subscriptions and donations are invited.

REPORT

OF THE

MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN & ORIENTAL SOCIETY

1914

POSITION OF THE SOCIETY AT END OF SESSION 1913-14

TEN meetings were held between October and May, of which details are given under "Proceedings" (p. 5). The number of members is 105. Five members have resigned, while four have joined. We have to deplore the death of Mr. Henry Kirkpatrick, of Tyldesley, and of Sir William Bailey (see p. 15). Members received with great regret the news of the resignation by Dr. A. H. Gardiner of his post of Reader in Egyptology in the University of Manchester (see p. 19). Mr. T. Eric Peet, B.A., of Oxford, best known as author of *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily*, and for several years a worker for the Egypt Exploration Fund, has accepted the post of Lecturer in Egyptology, and will give courses of lectures on Egyptian History and another on Egyptian Language in the Michaelmas and Summer terms. Mr. Peet has already shown a great interest in the Egyptian Collection of the

Manchester Museum, and a pamphlet by him on the important stele of Sebek-khu in our Museum has just been published by the Museum Committee.

Those members who were present at the lecture he kindly delivered before our Society last January will certainly be glad to know that he is to be so closely connected with Manchester.

The number of books and pamphlets in our collection is 150, an increase of 30 since last year. A catalogue of 120 of these books is given on p. 11 of our *List of Books on Egyptology*, 1913. Members can obtain from the Secretary this list, price 6d., and, in addition, if they desire it, a typed list of the recent acquisitions. These include Mr. A. H. Gardiner's recent "Catalogue of the Private Tombs at Thebes," presented by Mr. Robert Mond, and many reprints of the contributions of Dr. Alfred Wiedemann and of Mr. A. H. Gardiner to various Journals, the former presented by the Bishop of Salford, the latter by the Author. At various meetings of the Society thanks have been returned to donors of these acceptable gifts.

To this it may be added that the sale of the Journal of the Society has been just sufficient to recoup the University Publications Committee for the expenses incurred in its publication over and above the £25 contributed by the Society. But in order that this £25 may be forthcoming yearly without trespassing on the liberality of one or two members an increase in the number of Journal subscribers of one guinea is much needed. The fact that the Journal is appreciated is shown by the number of applications for an exchange of publications that have been received. Exchanges have been arranged with the Université St. Joseph, Beyrouth; the University of Rome (Oriental School); the Society of Biblical Archæology; the University of Upsala; the Editor of *Memnon*. We continue to receive the Journal of the Liverpool School of Archæology, and the Oriental publications of the Musée Guimet, Paris, which are both important and numerous.

The attention of members is drawn to the very full account of the Society in the July number of the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*. This includes portraits of the first President of the Manchester Egyptian Association, Mr. Jesse Haworth, LL.D., and of

REPORT

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the founder and first President of The Manchester Oriental Society, Professor Hope W. Hogg. A short account of the Society is also given in the first number (January 1914) of the journal of the British School of Archæology in Egypt, known as *Ancient Egypt*.

A statement of accounts appears on p. 29.

M. A. C.

W. M. C.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SESSION

1913—1914.

THE First Meeting of the Session was held on October 6th, 1913. The Chair was taken temporarily by Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins, and then by the President, Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids. Statements as to the position of the Society and as to the Journal were read by Miss Crompton and Prof. Canney. The Council and Officers of the Society were re-elected. The names of Mrs. Hope W. Hogg and Dr. W. M. Tattersall were added to the list of members of the Council, Mrs. Hogg being elected to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Miss Monica Heywood.

The President, after making some announcements as to the next meeting, called upon Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins to move the following resolution:

"That this Meeting desires to express the regret of the Egyptian and Oriental Society at the resignation by Sir Alfred Hopkinson of his position as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester. It desires at the same time to express its satisfaction that he has expressed the wish to renew his connexion with the Society on his return from the East, and its hope that he will long enjoy his well-earned rest."

The resolution, on being put to the Meeting, was carried unanimously.

The chairman then explained that Mrs. Flinders Petrie had kindly undertaken to give the address on "Early Scarabs," which was to have been given by her husband, Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie. He had pleasure, therefore, in calling upon Mrs. Flinders

Petrie to proceed. The paper, which was illustrated by many excellent lantern-slides, may be summarised as follows:

"Many kinds of beetles were venerated in Egypt from prehistoric times onward, and, long before the images of them became common, the actual beetles themselves were preserved in jars in pre-dynastic graves. In the earlier part of the second pre-dynastic civilisation (Sequence Date 53) two graves at Diospolis Parva contained numerous dried beetles. Rather later on, in Sequence Date 66, we find scarabaeus beetles, and, in another grave, large desert beetles, and a great quantity of a smaller variety; in another such grave, thirty-six were found preserved in a jar.

"Not only are the dried animals thus found, but the intention with which they were buried is vouched for by the models of beetles pierced to be worn as amulets. At Naqadeh two beetles of green serpentine were found, of prehistoric age, copied from the long bright green beetle now found living in the Sudan; others of the same kind cut in sard, and one in crystal, have been found in graves at Tarkhan,¹ about s.d. 77-8. In another grave of s.d. 77 was a group of amulets with two desert beetles cut in opaque green serpentine. Of s.d. 77 also, was a translucent green serpentine beetle found in the lowest level of the town of Abydos. Slightly later, but before the Ist Dynasty, was another long beetle found in the temple of Abydos. Of s.d. 78, just before Mena, there is the most striking instance of a reliquary case, to be worn as a charm, made of alabaster in the form of the true *scarabaeus sacer*. About the time of King Den (s.d. 81) in a grave at Tarkhan, was a jar containing many large desert beetles. What then must we conclude as to the Egyptian view of the beetle, before the engraving of designs upon it? It was certainly sacred or venerated, as shown by the many amulets, and especially the reliquary. We have no right to dissociate it from the very primitive idea which we find connected with it in later times, that the sun is the big ball rolled across the heaven by the Creator, and hence the scarab is an emblem of the Creator, Khepera. The scarab is figured with the disc of Ra in its claws from the XIIth Dynasty onward. Khepera is called 'the father of the gods,'

¹ One, of sard, now in Manchester Museum.

and this symbolism of the beetle is a part of the primeval animal worship of Egypt. The idea of the word *Kheper* is Being, existence, creation, becoming, and the god Khepera is the self-existent creator-god. On turning from the material remains to the inscriptions, we find that the importance of the scarab emblem was transferred from the Creator to the soul which is to be united to him. In the Pyramid texts it is said: 'This Unas flieth like a bird and alighteth like a beetle upon the throne which is empty in thy boat, O Ra.' Teta is said to 'live like the scarab.' The popularity of the scarab was very great all through historic times. We need not suppose that the original amuletic purpose and theologic allusion ruled entirely; mere habit of association was perhaps all that was commonly thought of. After the scarab had become too familiar in common use, it was resanctified in the XVIIIth Dynasty, by being carved in a very large size, with a purely religious text upon it, and placed in a frame upon the breast of the dead. On this frame it is often shown as adored by Isis and Nebhat. It is said to be the heart of Isis, who was the mother of the dead person thus identified with Horus—to be the heart which belonged to the transformations or becomings of his future life—and to be the charm which should ensure his justification in the judgment. Such were the high religious aspects of the scarab in the later times, removing it from the almost contemptuous familiarity which it had borne as the vehicle of seals and petty ornament. On passing to the XXIIIrd Dynasty and later, we see the winged scarab placed on the breast of the mummy, as the emblem of the creator who should transform the dead, and associated always with the four sons of Horus as guardians of special parts of the body. From this time, and specially from the XXVIth to the XXXth Dynasties, many scarabs were placed on the mummy, usually a row of half-a-dozen or more, along with figures of the gods.¹ Such scarabs are almost always carved with the legs beneath, and are never inscribed. On reaching Gnostic times, we see on amulets three scarabs in a row, as emblems of the Trinity, with three hawks as souls of the just before them, and three crocodiles, three snakes, etc., as souls of the wicked driven away behind them.

¹ See the amulets of Horuta in Manchester Museum.

"Turning to the documents of that age, there are descriptions which throw light on the way in which it was venerated. Pliny says of the scarabaeus—'The people of a great part of Egypt worship those insects as divinities, an usage for which Apion gives a curious reason, asserting as he does, by way of justifying the rites of his nation, that the insect in its operations pictures the revolution of the sun.' Horapollo explains this allusion, saying that the scarab 'rolls the ball from east to west, looking himself toward the east. Having dug a hole, he buries it in it for 28 days; on the 29th day he opens the ball, and throws it into the water, and from it the scarabaei come forth.' This description applies to the most usual place for scarabaei, the western desert edge. There the scarab rolls its ball toward the rise of sand to bury it, and holding it between the hind legs, pushes backward with its face to the east. The same description is given by Plutarch.

"There were various kinds of beetles regarded in Roman times. Pliny writes—'There is also another kind of scarabaeus which the magicians recommend to be worn as an amulet—the one which has small horns thrown backward. A third kind also, covered with white spots, they recommend to be cut asunder and attached to either arm.' This method of use is described in the Demotic Magical Papyrus—'You divide it down the middle with a bronze knife . . . take its left half . . . and bind them to your left arm.'

"Horapollo states—'There are three species of beetles. One has the form of a cat, and is radiated, which is called a symbol of the sun . . . the second species is two-horned and has the form of a bull, which is consecrated to the moon. The third species is unicorn, and has a peculiar form which is referred to Hermes like the Ibis.' This third species is evidently the *Hypselogenia*, which has a long beak in front; this seems to have been compared to the long beak of the ibis, and hence was referred to Tahuti. Of the two-horned scarab, there is a bronze figure in the British Museum; it may be that known to us as the stag beetle.¹ To the cat-shaped beetle we have no clue; from being

¹ Mr. J. Ray Hardy, Keeper of Entomology in Manchester Museum, suggests that this must be the beetle *Onthophagus taurus*, L., a two-horned beetle, rare in Britain but fairly common in Africa.

put first, it may be supposed to be the *Scarabaeus*. Whatever may be the modern equivalents of the various descriptions, it is certainly evident that five or six different kinds of beetles were all venerated, and used for their magical properties.

“We have seen that the scarab and other beetles were regarded as sacred or magical from the earlier part of the second prehistoric age down to the Christian period. The religious texts which we have, of the Vth, VIth, XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties all refer to it as an emblem of the creator-god, as a symbol and guarantee of his assistance to the deceased, or as an emblem of the apotheosis of the deceased. In the XIIth Dynasty, this emblem came into common use as a form of seal, doubtless owing to the name of the person being placed on it to ensure that its powers should be given to him. The personal scarab became treated commonly as the seal for everyday use. This did not, however, prevent the symbol being most generally employed with a religious significance.

“The purely utilitarian view of the scarab as a seal was true enough in some instances; but the facts of its actual use show that this was not the main purpose, even if we had not the use of it as a sacred amulet vouched for in the earliest as in the latest times. In the first place, the scarabs were originally nearly all coated with glaze, which has since perished from the majority, leaving the lines clear. But when the glaze remains, we see that a large part of the lines were so filled with glaze that no impression could be taken from them. As to the actual use for sealing, we know of very few instances of such except in the XIIth Dynasty; hardly any scarab sealings of the XVIIIth-XXVIth Dynasties are known, although scarabs were commonest at that age. For signets it would be required that the name and title of the person should appear, as on many that are known. Yet such name scarabs of private persons are very rare, except in the Middle Kingdom, and even then are but a small minority of all that were made. Further, those with Kings' names are in many cases later than the rulers whom they name, and could not therefore be used for official seals, but must refer to the claim on the protection afforded by the deceased king to the wearer.”

At the conclusion of the reading of the paper, a vote of thanks to Prof. Petrie and Mrs. Petrie was proposed by Dr. W. M. Tattersall and seconded by the Rev. J. A. Meeson.

THE Second Meeting of the Society was held on October 27th, 1913, the President in the Chair. Prof. G. Elliot Smith gave a lecture on "The Funerary Monuments of Ancient Egypt and their Foreign Influence." The lecture was illustrated by lantern-slides. The lecturer gave an account of the evolution of the funerary monuments during the time of the Old Kingdom, and of the influence exercised beyond the limits of Egypt by the peculiar burial customs and methods of tomb-construction adopted by the Egyptians for themselves. The materials used for the purpose of the lecture have been set forth in some detail in an article entitled "The Evolution of the Rock-Cut Tomb and the Dolmen," contributed to *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* (Cambridge, 1913), and in a summary in *Man* (December, 1913) under the heading "The Origin of the Dolmen."

The lecturer explained that the *mastaba*-type of superstructure was developed in Egypt to meet special demands made by the physical conditions of the country and the peculiar religious beliefs of the people. Evidence was then adduced to show that in foreign countries in touch directly or indirectly with Egypt many varieties of megalithic monuments obviously were inspired by attempts to imitate the Egyptian types of funerary monuments and temples. Prof. Elliot Smith took the opportunity to elucidate certain points in his argument in reference to which some of his friends had found a difficulty in understanding the precise point of view. He said that, although the claim is made that the *mastaba*-type of stone superstructure was evolved in Egypt, it is not suggested that the Egyptians themselves were wholly responsible for the development of this type of edifice. The fact indeed is now well recognised that certain of the most striking innovations in the builder's art coincide with the coming of alien people into Egypt. And, although there is no evidence to prove, or even to suggest, that such foreigners introduced any of the new features, it is

probable that the coming of strangers with new ideas was not without influence in stimulating the development of the local Egyptian arts and crafts.

The influence of Egypt was exerted not only at one period: in other words, it was not merely one phase of Egyptian culture that was diffused abroad. On the other hand it is certain that the middle Pre-dynastic culture—the earliest known Æneolithic phase—wherever it arose, was diffused East and West from India to Spain. The Proto-dynastic phase of culture spread southward in the Nile Valley, throughout the whole North African littoral and elsewhere in the Mediterranean area. The crafts of the Pyramid Age exerted their influence, step by step, until this was felt throughout the whole globe. Similarly, in the Middle and New Kingdoms and later, Egypt's example directly and indirectly was followed in many instances by the whole of the then civilised world.

At the conclusion of the lecture, Dr. Alan Gardiner remarked that Prof. Petrie in his book *Researches in Sinai* states that there are no traces of very early mining for copper in the Sinai peninsula. The traces are only of mining for turquoise. Where then, Dr. Gardiner asked the lecturer, did the Pre-dynastic Egyptians obtain their copper? The lecturer replied that within the last few years the government Geological Surveyors had found traces of extremely ancient copper workings in Lower Nubia. The graves of the Pre-dynastic Egyptians often contained small quantities of malachite; those of the Nubians of the same period contained frequently large lumps of this substance, which indicated that copper was more abundant in Nubia than in Egypt.

THE Third Meeting of the Session was held on November 14th, 1913, the President in the Chair. A paper on "Zoroastrian and other Ethnic Religious Material in the *Acta Sanctorum*," written by Dr. Louis H. Gray, who was present, was read at the meeting. The paper is printed in full elsewhere (p. 37). At the conclusion of the reading a Note written by Prof. Moulton was read by the Rev. C. L. Bedale.

Prof. Moulton wrote as follows:

"It is a great disappointment to me that I cannot be present at this meeting, to which I have looked forward with very special pleasure. Dr. Gray has kindly sent me his paper, and perhaps I may be allowed to speak by deputy to the very hearty vote of thanks which the Society will be giving him. I know Dr. Gray's work better perhaps than all here except Dr. Casartelli, and I can therefore speak with all the more emphasis of the great gain that our country secures even by the temporary possession of so sound and comprehensive a scholar. The field which Dr. Gray has traversed is one which I have often felt should be capable of yielding valuable material for our study of Zoroastrianism. Indeed, I remember once tackling one or two of these documents myself for that purpose; but whether it was my imperfect reading or the fact that the particular Acts that I started on were not specially remarkable, I did not find anything that would merit mentioning on this occasion. I altogether agree with Dr. Gray's conclusions in this paper. Perhaps I might venture one or two stray notes.

"I am much interested in what is said about holy mountains as among the objects which the Parsees bade Christians to worship, for in Plutarch and in the *Bundahish* we are told that at the Regeneration all the mountains are to be flattened out, since they are, according to the Magi, creatures of the evil spirit. But even the *Bundahish* retains some signs of the older reverence for mountains. I have argued in my Hibbert Lectures—which unhappily had just gone to the binders for immediate publication when I received Dr. Gray's paper—that this treatment of mountains, like the treatment of planets as malign, is really a special tenet of the Magi, which they never succeeded in inducing the Parsees to accept. The sharp distinction between the Magi as foreign Shamans and the Parsees proper is the thesis to which I have devoted a large part of my book.

"The 366 fires are very interesting. The suggestion of leap year raises a difficulty in my mind, in that the Parsee calendar seems to have provided for 365 days only, ever since 505 B.C., according to West. But this is a subject Dr. Gray knows much

better than I do. Is it possible that we should understand this as one fire for a day and then one extra, especially dedicated to Âtar himself?

"There is very little else that I would comment on. The three tortures, for two of which Dr. Gray mentions parallels, might be supplemented by the fact that flaying, the first of them, is grimly prominent on the Inscription of Darius. Dr. Gray's explanation of the burning of Christians is very suggestive, and, I think, evidently true. The fire festival of which he tells us, in which cattle and birds were driven into the flame, is a nice little piece of universal folk practice, observed in our own country, I believe, within living memory. It is paralleled largely in Frazer's *Golden Bough*. I have an impression that there is something to parallel the passage of the queen between the severed halves of the victims. Anyhow, one may compare Genesis xv. 17. On the question of the religion of Darius I am afraid I have come down on the other side of the fence from that which Dr. Gray occupies, even after studying very carefully and making large use of his invaluable article in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* and his later work in the encyclopædia. This, however, is a big question, and I must leave my reasons for the printed page. I will only therefore say how sorry I am to miss not only the actual reading of the paper, but the discussion of it, which, in the case of a paper so interesting, is sure to be full of instructive material. I earnestly hope that Dr. Gray will give us his paper in print. Nothing could be more proper than our own *Journal*."

The Bishop of Salford then expressed his appreciation of the paper, and made the following interesting comments:

"I have for many years thought that the Acts of the Christian Martyrs under the Sassanian Kings of Persia must contain a large amount of material of interest to Iranian studies, and for this reason were well worthy of working over by competent scholars. I am very glad that Dr. Gray, in the admirable paper just read, has done this fully and efficiently. He rightly reminded us of the great differences which we must expect to find between the folk-religion of various nations and the 'orthodox' presentment of the

particular religious system in their sacred books, so well exemplified in the religions of ancient Greece. For Zoroastrianism, we have this 'orthodox' presentment in the Avesta and in the beliefs and practices of the modern Parsis. Dr. Gray's researches have added very much to our knowledge of the folk-religion, which co-existed with the official state cult in its palmiest days. He rightly referred also to the varying systems and schools, theological and philosophical, which also co-existed at the same epoch. This is fully borne out in the writings of Paul the Persian, the Syriac writer who flourished at the court of the great King Khosrav Anosharevan (A.D. 531-578). He details at length the various theological schools of belief which held sway in the very heart of 'orthodoxy' itself—if such a term could be used. The Arabic writer Shahristāni gives similar evidence of the Zoroastrian sects, and the same is confirmed by the famous edict of Mihr Nerseh, under Yezdegerd II. (A.D. 440).

"It is quite true, as Dr. Gray remarks, that at present investigation is almost limited to the Greek and Latin Acts and Fathers, and that a great amount of material, so far inedited and untranslated, probably lies buried in many Oriental writings, chiefly Armenian. I may perhaps call the attention of the Society to the very important *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, begun by Chabot in 1903 and now being continued by the combined Universities of Louvain and Washington. The great series will contain all the Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Syriac and Arabic Christian writers, and no doubt will contain a great amount of material similar to that treated in Dr. Gray's paper.

"I was particularly interested in Dr. Gray's remarks on the various tortures recorded in the *Acta* as inflicted on Christian Martyrs, and his comparison of several of them to those gruesome punishments described in the Inferno of the *Artā-ī Vīrāf Nāmak*. A few years ago in a paper read before the Manchester Dante Society, I ventured, partly following J. J. Modi, to compare the tortures in Dante's Inferno with those seen by Artā-ī-Vīrāf, and to suggest that in all probability they were in both cases, not the effects of a morbid imagination, but actually represented the awful cruelties practised at the Persian court, not only in ancient and

medixval days, but even down to modern times, and that Dante may very well have had some information concerning them brought over by the Italian merchants and travellers who so largely visited Eastern countries both during and after his time ("The Persian Dante," since published in the *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay).

"Before leaving the subject I should very much like to call the Society's attention to an extremely interesting passage in the latest issue of the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie* (Bd. III., Heft 6), by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, on the Minor Religious Systems of India. The writer gives a most interesting account of a sect styled 'Maga' in Northern India during the early centuries of the Christian Era, who were actual worshippers of the Sun-God, of whom they had temples and images. The legend is that one Sāmba brought over the 'Maga priests' from a foreign land and erected a temple. The Magas were descendants of one Zarasasta (evidently Zarathushtra), whose mother was a daughter of the Sun-God. They wore a girdle round their waist called a *avyanga* (clearly the Avestic *aiwiyaoñhana*). It is also interesting to know that the image of the Sun-God was represented with boots reaching to the knees and a girdle round the waist, clearly Persian features. Of course these evidences of a form of Iranism, contaminated with Hindu mythology and idolatry, existing in India at so early a period, are quite independent of the much later coming of the Parsīs who fled from Mohammedan persecution as late as A.D. 716."

The Bishop then moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Louis Gray for his most interesting paper. This was seconded by the President from the chair.¹

THE Fourth Meeting of the Society was held on December 8th, 1913, the Bishop of Salford in the Chair. At the opening of the Meeting, the chairman said that before passing to ordinary business reference must be made to the sad loss sustained by the Society through the death of Sir William Bailey. Sir William Bailey,

¹ In preparing his paper for publication, Dr. Gray has made a number of additions to it.

though he was not able to attend regularly the meetings of the Society, had shown in times past his interest in its affairs in a very generous and practical way. It was then proposed by Prof. Canney and seconded by Prof. Peake, that an expression of the regret of the Society at the death of Sir William Bailey, and of sympathy with his family should be forwarded to his relatives.

The Rev. J. A. Meeson then delivered an address on "The Wisdom Literature of Israel."

His address, he said, was an attempt to stimulate a more general interest in an important subject. The wise men ranked, as teachers, with prophets and priests (Jer. xviii. 18). Attracted by the study of moral truths they taught rules for life and conduct. With no claim to inspiration or revelation, they were guided by good sense, clear insight and sound reason. Like the Juris consults of Rome in the days of the Republic, they were the recognised if not the authoritative teachers of the people. With many of them, wisdom was identified with the Law. Seeking their maxims everywhere, they dealt with truths and principles at the basis of morality; again reminding us of the Jus Gentium of Roman Lawyers. Their ethical theory was simple: men are divided into good and bad, the wise man and the fool. Man may do right if he will; if he does wrong he suffers, if right he is rewarded.

Wisdom is twofold—human and divine. It embraces all things in heaven and on earth. The world is an orderly whole (κόσμος), is the expression of the mind of God (Prov. viii. 23-31). Though occupied with creation, Wisdom rejoiced in the habitable earth, her delight was with the sons of men. Man is capable of understanding this divine Wisdom, can appreciate the wonders of the world-plan, the beauty, order and government of the κόσμος. He is invited to contemplate. He can also realise something of this Wisdom in his own intellectual and moral life. The Wisdom Literature is supremely concerned with human conduct, character and life. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom.

One great topic of this literature is Judgment—the sifting (κρίσις) between the evil and the good. On this theme there is a marked development.

(1) Book of Proverbs represents the first stage. The theory is that

right-doing is always rewarded, and penalty always follows wrongdoing. (2) But the wicked are found to prosper and the upright to suffer misfortune. In some of the Psalms (37, 49, 73) this is felt, and an explanation sought. "The Hebrew Pascal" who wrote Psalm 73 found solution in the belief in the future life. (3) But it is the Book of Job that really grapples with the problem. It has been called: The Book of the Trial of the Righteous Man and of the Justification of God. (4) But the appeal and answer of Job is soon felt to be no solution of the problem. And "the sphinx of Hebrew literature," Ecclesiastes, takes up the difficulty at a later stage. "All is vanity;" there is no explanation of life's perplexing ways. Yet man finds his duty in the fear of God, and obedience to His commands.

The Wisdom Literature goes beyond the ordinary Canon of Old Testament; and in the Apocrypha we have some real and helpful contributions, notably the conviction of an individual life beyond the grave. In the light of this hope men could better understand the sufferings of the innocent and the prosperity of the wicked.

As we follow our studies in this Wisdom Literature, we are often reminded of and brought into touch with the great teachers of the nations that surrounded and at different times and in different ways influenced the people of Israel. To settle the question of indebtedness and affinities is a fascinating but a delicate and a difficult task. There is one source of influence that should be named. The teaching of the Wisdom Literature is helped by the views of Zoroastrianism. There stress is laid on two kinds of Wisdom, heavenly and earthly. The hope of immortality may be compared with the expression of the same hope in the early Zoroastrian Hymns. The moral code of Zoroastrianism is summed up in: Good Thoughts, Good Words, Good Deeds. The high moral tone of the best Persian literature and religion could not but attract the Jews. The Persians were invited to join the service of the good spirit, and do good; to fight against the evil spirit and destroy his noxious creatures; to subdue the earth, and cultivate the ground—to fight on in the faith that victory will ultimately lie with the spirit of good. We are reminded of the early chapters of Genesis, as well as of the Wisdom Literature.

We have a powerful and tenacious foe to face. But Light will conquer Darkness. "The proportion of good and evil may be very sensibly affected by human action." So far as we possess the power of bettering things, it is our duty, it is the path of Wisdom, to use that power; to train our intellect and energy for this supreme service of our kind.

The address was followed by a discussion in which Prof. Peake, the Rev. D. P. Buckle, the Rev. W. L. Wardle, and the Bishop of Salford took part. The Bishop said that in the Zoroastrian writings there were many passages which strikingly resembled passages in the Old Testament Apocrypha, but he thought it was clear that the latter had influenced the former.

THE Fifth Meeting of the Society was held on December 15th, 1913, Prof. G. Elliot Smith in the Chair. Dr. Alan H. Gardiner gave a lecture on "The Nature of the Egyptian Hieroglyphic Writing."

The lecturer pointed out that even the earliest Egyptian monuments exhibit no exclusively pictorial script, and therefore the evolution of hieroglyphic writing is to some extent a matter of hypothetical deduction; none the less the hieroglyphs mostly bear their history written on their face, and certain old monuments, as the great slate-palette of Nar-mer from Hierakonpolis, point clearly to the sequence of events. Pictorial representation was quickly found to be insufficient, and some means of depicting words to eke out the meaning had to be found. The principle of the *rebus* was then discovered, by which words for things that could not be represented pictorially were indicated by pictures of things the names of which sounded similarly. At the beginning such *rebus*-signs were incorporated into the composition, the whole of which soon however came to be interpreted orally, *i.e.*, in terms of language, and no longer merely visually, *i.e.*, immediately by the eye. This step having been taken, the picture soon disintegrated into a number of single picture-signs or hieroglyphs, each of which henceforth stood (whether pictorially or phonetically) for a word or part of a word. In the developed hieroglyphic writing three main classes of sign can be distinguished: 1.

Ideograms or pictorial signs; 2. phonograms or sound-signs, and 3. determinatives, which are pictorial signs having a merely supplementary or connotative function at the end of words. The lecturer showed how the second and third classes of sign may have arisen from the first. It was pointed out that an important part in the process was played by abstraction, which gave a wider use to any given sign by only part of its connotation being understood when the sign was applied to new purposes; thus the picture of the old man leaning on his staff was used to convey the meaning "old," whether the word referred to men, women, animals, or things. In exactly the same way phonetic signs, which are simply pictorial signs used after the manner of the *rebus* (cf. too our charades) had a wide application owing to the vowels being ignored, thus a sign representing an object the name of which was *mōn* could be used in the writing of any word in which the sequence of consonants *m+n* occurs, as in *mane*, *semni*, *mūn*, *Amun*, *Mont*, and so forth. In this way not only trilateral and biliteral signs were evolved, but also, out of certain short words, a complete alphabet of uniliteral signs. English could not have developed a similar hieroglyphic system, as the genius of the language, or more precisely the relation of its vowels to its consonants, is against it. The determinatives for the most part are generic, that is to say, they indicate the *kind* of meaning (as man, woman, violent action, evil sense, etc.) to be attributed to the words they follow. To sum up, the Egyptian hieroglyphic system of writing may be defined as a combination of pure pictorial writing with *rebus*-writing.

At the conclusion of the lecture, the chairman said that although it was not usual to propose a formal vote of thanks to a lecturer when he was a member of the Society or a Lecturer of the University or both, he was sure that members of the Society would agree with him that this was an occasion for breaking that rule. They would feel this to be the case especially when he told them that pressure of other work compelled Dr. Gardiner to resign his post of Reader in Egyptology in the University of Manchester. He knew that they would all agree with him in deploring this grievous loss to the University and to the cause of Egyptology in Manchester.

The Chairman then called upon the Bishop of Salford to voice the feeling of the Society. The Bishop said that the name of so eminent a scholar as Dr. Gardiner had added lustre to the University and, quite apart from the advantage derived by those who had been privileged to attend his courses of lectures, he had shown a very generous and genuine interest in the progress of Egyptology in Manchester. This had been demonstrated by the kind loan of the fine series of copies of portions of the paintings in the Theban tombs, which so greatly adorned the walls of the Manchester Museum and were indeed one of its chief ornaments. In addition to this, Dr. Gardiner had, out of his extremely busy life, contrived to spare several days in which to help forward the work of arranging the Egyptian collection in our Museum, preparatory to its opening. The Bishop said he wished to move very heartily that a vote of thanks be accorded to Dr. Gardiner for his most interesting and suggestive address, and that an expression of the deep regret of members at his resignation be placed on record. He desired also to express their hope that Dr. Gardiner would not lose altogether his interest in the affairs of the Society but would give them opportunities for hearing him on future occasions. The vote of thanks was seconded by Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins. Dr. Gardiner, in replying, expressed his gratitude to the Society for its expression of appreciation of his work, and his great regret at having to sever his close connexion with Manchester. He said that he hoped still to contribute to the Journal of the Society and would certainly continue to take an interest in its affairs. He would be glad also to give a lecture from time to time.

THE Sixth Meeting of the Society was held on January 14th, 1914, Prof. G. Elliot Smith in the Chair. Mr. T. Eric Peet gave a lecture on "Sinai as known to the Egyptians." The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides.

The lecturer pointed out that the interest of the Egyptians in Sinai was apparently limited to two of the valleys on the west coast of the peninsula, the Wadi Maghara and the Serabit el Khadim. These had been explored by Prof. Flinders Petrie for the Egypt Exploration Fund, and a great part of our knowledge of the

subject is derived from the results of his work.¹ The purpose of their visits was undoubtedly to obtain the stone or substance known to them as *mefkat*. This has sometimes been taken to be a salt of copper, possibly the carbonate (malachite), but the examination of the mines in the valleys themselves has shown that what was extracted from them was not copper in any form but turquoise, though for the most part of an inferior quality apt to disintegrate on exposure to the air. This substance seems not to have been used by the Egyptians as a precious stone but to have been ground down to make the greenish pigment used in the wall paintings.

The route taken by the expeditions probably varied from time to time. Expeditions starting out from Upper Egypt seem in early times to have marched across the desert and crossed the Red Sea by boat, whence naval officers played an important part in them. In later days the route from the Delta *via* the Wadi Tumilat, re-opened by Rameses II., was probably used. The time of the expedition was fixed so as to avoid the heat of summer. An interesting inscription of one Herurra, who was sent out to Sinai too late in the season, gives a vivid account of the sufferings of the party from the heat, which burned them like fire. The number of the expedition varied considerably. In one case, under King Amenemhet III., a force of 734 soldiers is recorded. After the earlier days when the forces were generally under the command of an admiral or general, the officials most usually named are the Divine Chancellors, under whom were the various Directors (*kherp*). Miners of several kinds naturally formed the bulk of the force, though there were often numbers of soldiers. Among the other persons mentioned are boatmen, peasants for driving the asses, scribes, a doctor, a cook and the brother of the prince of Retenu.

In the Maghara valley remains of the workmen's huts still exist. The pots and other utensils were often buried under the floors, probably to preserve them for use in the next expedition. The

¹ The copies of the ancient inscriptions taken by this Expedition will be published shortly, with translations and discussion by Dr. Alan Gardiner and Mr. Eric Peet.

mines consist of galleries driven into the turquoise-bearing strata. Copper chisels were used for the work. On the rocks above the entrances to the galleries were inscribed tablets recording the various expeditions. Some of these are of the Old Kingdom. The earliest is that of Semerkhet of the Ist Dynasty. On this, as on others of the earlier tablets, the king is seen smiting a Bedawi, perhaps an inhabitant of the peninsula. Most of the great kings of the early dynasties set up tablets in this valley, among them Sneferu and Khufu, two of the most famous of the pyramid builders. During the XIIth Dynasty the valley was still frequently visited, as the numerous inscriptions of this period attest. In or after the XVIIIth Dynasty it appears to have become worked out and interest is transferred to the Serabit el Khadim.

This valley, a little to the north of the last, was probably known to the Egyptians as early as the IVth Dynasty, for the name of Sneferu seems to have been closely associated with the place in the minds of later Egyptians. A temple had been erected there in the XIIth Dynasty, if not earlier, to Hathor, goddess of the place, known as Mistress of the Turquoise. In this temple almost every Egyptian king of note from the Middle Kingdom onward has left some record in building. Some of the chambers are filled with offerings made to Hathor, consisting generally of cups, sistra, wands, bracelets etc., made of fine blue glaze. These offerings are most frequent during the XIXth Dynasty and cease altogether after the XXth.

Perhaps the chief interest of the temple lies in the dozens of large record stelæ set up in its vicinity by commanders of expeditions. These, in spite of their battered condition in many cases, are of immense historical importance. A few of them are surrounded by rings of great stones, which it has been suggested were rough chambers for the practice of "incubation," *i.e.*, sleeping in the vicinity of a sacred place in hopes of dreams from the deity explaining the method of curing a disease, or perhaps, in this case, of lighting upon rich veins of turquoise.

Among the gods mentioned in the inscriptions the most important is Hathor, who may perhaps be an Egyptianized form of

a local Sinaitic goddess. Next in order of importance is Sopdu, Lord of the East. The other gods, such as Ptah, Amon and Osiris, play a very subordinate part. Under the XIIth Dynasty Sneferu is twice referred to as a deity along with Hathor and Sopdu.

At the conclusion of the lecture a vote of thanks was proposed by the Bishop of Salford and seconded by Prof. Boyd Dawkins.

THE Seventh Meeting of the Session was held on February 20th, 1914, at the Manchester Grammar School, the High Master, Mr. J. L. Paton, in the Chair. This was a Joint Meeting with the Manchester Branch of the Classical Association. Prof. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt gave a lecture on "Tigranokerta re-discovered." He gave a most interesting account of his "rediscovery" of Tigranokerta, the site of the great victory of Lucullus over Tigranes in the Mithridatic War in 69 B.C.—which he places at Maiafarikin, close to the Bat-man-su, a tributary of the Tigris. He gave also a vivid reconstruction of the battle itself. Several difficulties in Tacitus's account of Corbulo's subsequent campaign in the same region were cleared up. The lecture was richly illustrated by lantern-slides of the city itself as it appears to-day, the routes by which the armies had travelled, and many of the inscriptions in Greek and Arabic by which the course of events could be traced.

At the conclusion of the lecture a vote of thanks to the lecturer was moved by Prof. Canney (for the Egyptian and Oriental Society) and seconded by Prof. Calder (for the Classical Association).

THE Eighth Meeting of the Session was held on March 10th, 1914, Prof. Canney in the Chair. Prof. Dickie read a paper on "The Jews as Builders." The subject was illustrated by lantern-slides. The paper is printed in full on pp. 57-65 of the Journal. After the reading of the paper, Prof. Dickie replied to questions put by Prof. Canney, Prof. Unwin, and others.

THE Ninth Meeting of the Session was held on March 24th, 1914, Prof. Canney in the Chair. Mr. H. R. Hall, M.A., F.S.A., lectured

on "Greek Monasteries." The lecture was illustrated by lantern-slides. At the conclusion of the lecture a vote of thanks was proposed by Prof. Dickie and seconded by the Rev. D. P. Buckle.

THE Tenth Meeting of the Session was held on April 28th, 1914, the President, Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, in the Chair. Mr. A. M. Blackman, M.A., gave a lecture on "The Painted Tombs at Meir, Upper Egypt," which was illustrated by lantern-slides.

Prof Elliot Smith, in moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said that this work of Mr. Blackman for the Egypt Exploration Fund was an example of the most important kind of archaeological work that had to be done in Egypt at the present time. Most archaeologists want to bring away something new. But a more urgent need was to obtain a record of important historical monuments which were now lying exposed. Prof. Boyd Dawkins, in seconding the vote of thanks, emphasised the same need. He said that a very great addition will be made to our knowledge of the ancient history of Egypt by making a careful record of what has already been discovered. The exposed remains will not keep; others will. The vote of thanks was adopted heartily.*

* All the Meetings of the Session, except the Seventh (Feb. 20, 1914; see above, p. 23), were held at the University.

THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION IN MANCHESTER MUSEUM

THIS collection has been obtained almost entirely through scientific excavations, so that the provenance of almost every article is known and also the excavator's data for the period to which it should be assigned; for these reasons it is particularly useful to the student of archæology. Its special feature is its richness in small domestic articles, particularly in those in actual use in Dynasty XII.

To take the collection as it is arranged, that is, in chronological order, we must note that it is rich above the average in Pre-dynastic objects,—the splendid flints presented by Mr. Haworth, the Tomb group from El Mahasna and the series of copper tools so well illustrating their evolution may be specially noted, also the bed frame from Tarkhan (Cases I and II and Wall Cases adjacent).

As to Dynasty XII, the chief source for our knowledge of the everyday life of that period is the town near the Fayoum excavated by Petrie in 1888-90 and called by him Kahun. Of the many articles found in the houses of this buried town, the Manchester Museum received two-thirds one season and one-third another (Cases VII-XII): amongst them are two wooden sickles with the cutting edge of serrated flints, a brick-mould, plasterers' floats, a copper mirror still bright, with handle in form of the goddess Hathor, old leather sandals, tops, tipcats, dolls, balls and

pottery, to mention only a few of the articles. We owe them to the generosity of Mr. Jesse Haworth and Mr. Martyn Kennard, and to the first is entirely due our possession of the beautiful pectoral and other ornaments dated to Senusert II and III, discovered at Riqqeh in 1913 by the British School of Archæology in Egypt. These were the only specimens of such ancient cloisonné work in Europe until Prof. Petrie brought back the still finer pectoral from Lahun this summer. They are shown on request.

Of the Middle Kingdom also, is the remarkable complete burial found in "The Tomb of Two Brothers," at Rifeh. This occupies an entire Case in the centre of the First Egyptian Room.

A fine series of domestic articles of Dynasty XVIII, from Gurob, presented by Mr. Haworth, deserves mention (Cases XV and XVI).

"There are but four Museums in the world which contain an appreciable number of examples of the art of Tell-el-Amarna," writes Miss M. A. Murray in the Guide to the Ashmolean Museum. These are "the Ashmolean, Cairo, Manchester, and University College, London." Possibly the German excavations now in progress on the site will make it necessary to revise that statement, but still Manchester contains a goodly number of scarabs, seals, rings, moulds, specimens of glass beads and pigments from this famous capital of Akhenaten, together with fragments of inscribed stones (Cases XVI and XVII, and pillars adjacent).

The most important objects of the Roman Period are the portraits painted in hot coloured wax on wood panels. Nine of these hang on the end wall of the Second Egyptian Room, whilst two remain in position on two mummies in Case XXIII, adjacent.

An interesting collection of Roman glass and household articles of the Roman Period, chiefly from Oxyrhynchus, has just been increased by a handsome donation from the Egypt Exploration Fund, of articles found by Mr. J. de M. Johnson at Antinoë.

In the gallery is exhibited a series of spinning and weaving implements from Pre-dynastic to Coptic times and also specimens of linen, from a fine series of Dynasty I from Tarkhan to the large

and interesting collection of Coptic embroidered cloths lately presented by Mr. Haworth, and the fine examples given by the late Mr. M. E. Robinow. Mention must be made of the nine facsimile paintings of portions of frescoes in the Tombs of the nobles of the New Kingdom at Thebes. These were the work of Mrs. de Garis Davies and are most kindly lent by Dr. Alan Gardiner.

It may be remarked that though there is no official guide attached to the Manchester Museum the Assistants in Charge conduct parties round the departments by arrangement. The leaders of such parties should write beforehand to the Keeper of the Museum in order to ensure a date when the Assistant Keeper of the department they wish to visit is able to receive them. The Assistants are always glad to give information to any person who requires more than is afforded by the labels or who wishes to study the reserve collections, which in the case of the Egyptian, as of every other department, are very large.

WINIFRED M. CROMPTON.

MANCHESTER EGYPTIAN AND ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ACCOUNTS FROM 18TH SEPTEMBER, 1913, TO 11TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.

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Audited and found correct, E. MELLAND.



**SPECIAL PAPERS
& ARTICLES**

SAMUEL ROLLES DRIVER

AN APPRECIATION

BY ARTHUR S. PEAKE, M.A., D.D.

WHEN Prof. Driver was taken from us at the comparatively early age of sixty-seven, we lost our most eminent Hebraist and our most representative Old Testament scholar. He had achieved a great work, yet he was far from having completed the programme to which he was committed, and we have to lament that several volumes which would have enriched our literature on the philology, the criticism, and the exegesis of the Old Testament will now never be written.

The field in which he first won eminence was that of Hebrew Philology, and it was here that to the end his mastery was most conspicuous. Apart from editions of Rabbinical commentaries, which had no very wide appeal, his linguistic work found at once an audience both large and appreciative. First came his *Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, which in its enlarged and improved third edition still maintains its authoritative place. His *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* falls into the same class; it was primarily designed to aid the student in grasping the idiomatic usages of the language. But it contained also a very valuable introduction dealing with palæography and the Ancient Versions. His third outstanding contribution to this department of scholarship was contained in his notable articles

in *The Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*. No doubt in other respects the Lexicon owes much to him. But it need hardly be said that his commentaries rest on a firm foundation of accurate philology, and that on Deuteronomy in particular in *The International Critical Commentary* is distinguished not simply by sound exegesis and criticism, but by valuable philological notes.

Dr. Driver, however, was known to the world at large chiefly as an Old Testament critic. This is hardly what his earlier work would have led one to expect. Preoccupied with grammar and kindred subjects, he only slowly advanced to a consideration of the critical problems; and even then it was somewhat late in his career that he definitely took sides with the critical as opposed to the traditional view. This slow ripening was in the main an advantage. When his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* was published in 1891, it took its place as our standard work, a place it has through its nine editions continued to hold. It displayed, of course, massive learning, intimate familiarity with the text, a wide acquaintance with the literature of the subject, a faculty of condensed, lucid, and weighty statement, a judicial temper, a sobriety of judgment, which entitled it to this position. What specially appealed to English readers was its moderation, its distrust and avoidance of extremes. The book was an exposition of modern criticism, but it was criticism stated in its most moderate and least outspoken form, with a leaning to the most conservative position that the author's critical conscience would permit him to accept. This was due to no timidity on his part; it was the set of his mind which determined his attitude. He trusted very little to impressions as compared with facts, and if he moved away from the traditional view it was because he felt that the weight of the evidence compelled him. He thus secured, as probably no one else could have done, such triumph as the critical cause has won in England. Not that he had led the way or that among students of the Old Testament the critical view was not widely held. But the learning, sobriety, and moderation of Dr. Driver probably won a large number of

adherents who would have been too distrustful of his more advanced and adventurous colleagues.

His literary output was very considerable, when we remember what finished work he produced, and what elaborate investigation often lay behind quite unpretending discussions. Several commentaries, some translations, numerous articles, much labour lavished on the perfecting of other men's work, all stand to his credit. Not a few of our younger scholars owe much to his personal training, on which he often spent the greatest pains. Our loss is irreparable, but his character, his eminence, and his work remain our abiding possession.

ZOROASTRIAN AND OTHER ETHNIC RELIGIOUS MATERIAL IN THE ACTA SANCTORUM¹

BY LOUIS H. GRAY, A.M., PH.D.

IN the study of any religion the surest guide is naturally its own sacred texts, when it possesses them, and—failing these, or supplementing them, as the case may be—next in importance come the dicta and the practices of its most representative followers. On the other hand, we must not forget that sacred texts are prone to ignore the lower aspects of the religion which they inculcate, so that we run the risk of gaining from them alone a somewhat one-sided knowledge, particularly in regard to the folk-religion as distinct from the higher, officially recognised creed. A valuable check to excessive idealisation is furnished by the polemics of opponents of the religion in question; and while these are not invariably fair, I believe that they reveal the actual weaknesses and many of the practices of the religion which they attack. Especially is this the case when the polemicists are converts, who know, even though they may detest, the leading principles of the faith which they have left. I do not believe, for instance, that the Christian apologists, in assailing the pagan myths, were fighting windmills. These myths were, indeed, abandoned by the philosophers; but I am sure that they were held by the multitude, even as the Greek peasant to-day

¹ A paper read at a meeting of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society on November 14th, 1913.

still fears the Nereids.¹ Neither is it safe to build hypotheses on the *argumentum e silentio*; witness the wide divergence between the "Homeric" religion and that revealed by Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*.² With regard to Zoroastrianism we are in a particularly fortunate position, for we have much of its own sacred text in Avesta and Pahlavi, and also many polemics by converts from it, notably in the *Acts of the Saints*. It is true that the extant Avesta and Pahlavi books contain relatively few of the elements of primitive religion; yet it is my belief that in much of the Avesta we have even now distinct traces of a far lower religious level than is generally attributed to what is popularly called Zoroastrianism. Unless I am greatly mistaken, Zoroaster—in whose historical existence we may firmly believe—merely reformed a polytheistic and rather primitive cult which may be designated Iranism, for want of a better name. This Iranism was so primitive that—like Vedism—it had not even developed beyond the aniconic stage in the representation of its divinities. This is the meaning of the statement of Herodotus that the Persians had "neither images, nor temples, nor altars, but attributed folly to those who had them."³ Upon this primitive Iranism, however, I may not touch. One of the members of this Society, in his admirable volume on "Early Zoroastrianism," has more than fulfilled our most exacting requirements by his researches on a problem which had, it seems to me, hitherto been scarcely touched, still less profoundly studied. Mine is a lesser task—to portray the Zoroastrian religion as seen by its deadly foes in the period of its revival under the Sasanian dynasty (224-651 A.D.). I shall thus attempt to supplement, from the *Acts of the Saints*,⁴ the accounts of Iranism given by Greek and Latin pagan writers which have been made

¹ Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 130ff.

² Second edition, Cambridge, 1908.

³ I. 131; cf. also Strabo, p. 732; for the Veda see Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V. (1872), p. 453f.

⁴ My thanks are due to the Rev. Dr. James Hastings for his generosity in placing at my disposal his set of the volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

generally accessible by Kleuker¹ and by Rapp;² and I hope that at least one or two of the older passages which have thus far been regarded with suspicion will be seen to rest upon a foundation of truth. Moreover, the writings which I am about to consider possess one great advantage over the pagan classical sources. They record, in many cases, the experiences and the words of converts to Christianity from Zoroastrianism. These converts knew by their early lives and training the main tenets of their original belief, at least in the form in which it was held by the great mass of Zoroastrians. What we here read will scarcely coincide with the Pahlavi treatises which date, at least in conception, from this same Sasanid period; but this is only a superficial objection. Let me illustrate by an example which is not mentioned in the Greek and Latin *Acts of the Saints*. From the Avesta and Pahlavi texts we infer, at least in general outline, a strictly dualistic principle;³ yet from the Perso-Arab al-Shahristānī (1086-1153) and from other sources, notably the Armenian polemist Eznik (fifth century), and the Greeks Theodore of Mopsuestia and Damascius (sixth century), we learn that the predominant view in the Sasanian period was Zarvanite; *i.e.*, that an attempt was made—doubtless among more advanced thinkers only—to derive both Ormazd and Ahriman (the principles of good and evil respectively) from Zrvan akarana, “Boundless Time,” an abstraction mentioned among minor godlings a few times in the Avesta.⁴ This, however, is the philosophical side—the metaphysics of Zoroastrianism. Our concern is with the religion of the masses, on which a valuable side-light is cast by the Christian *Acts of the Saints*.

¹ *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, II., iii., Leipzig and Riga, 1783.

² *Z.D.M.G.* XIX. (1865), pp. 1-89; XX. (1866), pp. 49-204.

³ See Jackson, in *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, II. (1904), pp. 627-628, Casartelli, art. “Dualism (Iranian),” in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, V. (1912), p. III f. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, pp. 201, 220, 322, very pertinently argues that Zoroastrian dualism is Magian, not Iranian, in origin.

⁴ See Jackson, p. 630, and the references there given, to which may be added Eznik, tr. Schmid, Vienna, 1900; Nöldeke, “Syrische Polemik gegen die persische Religion,” in *Festgruss an Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 34-38. The Avesta passages are *Nyāyish* I. 8; *Yasna* LXII. 10; *Vidēvdāt* XIX. 13.

The *Acts* which here come under consideration are in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Armenian; but the brief time which I have had for the preparation of this study compels me to restrict myself almost entirely to those in the classical languages. The Syriac *Acts* are practically untranslated, except for a few given by Assemani and by Hoffman;¹ and there are still no less than twenty-four lives of martyrs and other saints in Persia written in Syriac which are as yet accessible only to Semitic scholars. The Armenian *Acts*, almost none of which have been studied, so far as I am aware,² number about twenty; and their investigation might prove of even more value in this connexion than the Syriac *Acts*, as casting additional light upon religious conditions in Armenia as well as in Persia.³

The only reference of value to the Magi as a class in the Greek and Latin *Acts* is found in the account of St. Sira, who was martyred in 559 in Pars, then a centre of orthodoxy.⁴ She, while still a Zoroastrian, was entrusted, for her religious education, to the Magi "to perform the mystic worship termed that of the Yast."⁵ She falls ill, however, and is convinced that she cannot recover her health through the help of fire, water, or any other Magian objects

¹ Assemani, *Acta martyrum orient.*, Rome, 1748 (inaccessible to me at present); Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig, 1880; to which may be added Chabot, *La Légende de Mar Bassus, martyr persan*, Paris, 1893, and "Histoire de Jésus-Sabran," in *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, VII. (1897), pp. 503-584 (inaccessible at present); Winstedt, "Coptic Saints and Sinners," in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1908, pp. 234-237, 276-278 (for a Persian martyr, Abraham) (inaccessible at present); Abbeloos, "Acta Mar Kardaghi Assyriæ præfecti," in *Analecta Bollandiana*, IX. (1890), pp. 11-103; Hilgenfeld, *Ausgewählte Gesänge des Giwargis Warda von Arbel*, Leipzig, 1904 (inaccessible at present). For a Georgian work see *Life of St. Nino*, tr. M. and J. D. Wardrop, Oxford, 1900.

² For a translation of one see Peeters, "Une Passion arménienne des ss. Abdas, Hormisdas, Šāhīn (Suenes) et Benjamin," in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXVIII. (1909), pp. 399-415 (cf. *A.S.* II. Sept. 528).

³ For a full bibliography see the Bollandists' *Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis*, Brussels, 1910.

⁴ IV. Mai, 177ff.

⁵ ὡς καὶ τὴν μυστικὴν λατρείαν ἐκτελέσαι τῆς Ἰαθὸς λεγομένην, καθ' ἣν ὡς ἐπὶ σεμνοῖς κατορθώσασιν, ἐναβρύνονται.

of reverence (σεβάσματα). Accordingly, after having been escorted by the Magians to the presence of the fire, she "took the sticks by which they acted the Magian in conformity with the devilish tradition of Zoroaster Putting forth her strength, she crushed the sticks and scattered the sacrifice, and spat upon the fire and quenched it."¹ We are also told that the chief Magian was called Μαυιπᾶς, which closely represents the Pahlavi *magūpat*, *mavpat*, "chief of the Magi," familiar in its Modern Persian form *mōbād*.²

The allusion to the barsom sticks employed in the Zoroastrian ritual of sacrifice is not without interest, though it adds nothing to what is known from the Iranian sources, except that they are here said to have been carried by a woman and not by a Magian.³ On the other hand, it is certainly surprising to find a woman in the very presence of the sacred fire, so near that she can spit upon it—an act of extremest blasphemy from an Iranian point of view, which enjoins the penalty of death for heinous pollution of the flame,⁴ this being the punishment to be inflicted on every *asəmaoya*, or teacher of heresy.⁵ The Avesta prescribes that he who has carried a corpse alone, a woman delivered of a still-born child, the corpse of a man or dog, and those purifying themselves from the defilement of death may not be nearer to fire, water, or barsom than thirty paces; while a menstruous woman may not approach within fifteen

¹ λαβοῦσα τὰ ξύλα, δι' ὧν ἐμάγευεν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ζωροάστρου δαιμονιώδη παράδοσιν . . . ῥωθεῖσα τὰ ξύλα συνέθλασεν καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἐσκέδασεν, καὶ τῷ πυρὶ ἐπέπτυσέν τε καὶ ἔσβεσεν.

² Salemann, *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, I. (1901), p. 260; Horn, *ib.* I. b, pp. 37, 50, 188; cf. also the Armenian and Syriac loan-forms given by Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1895, I. p. 195. The abstract term is given as Μαυιπτουθά in A.S. IV. Mai, 171, which looks like a Syriac formation. The mention of a high official designated Δάφ is also of interest (*ib.* p. 176).

³ On the barsom cf. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892-1893, index, s.v. "Baresman"; Mills and Gray, art. "Barsom," in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, II. (1909), p. 424f.; the earliest classical mention is by Strabo, p. 733; for a Syriac reference see Hoffmann, pp. 94, 111.

⁴ Strabo, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Vd.* IX. 51-57; cf. also Darmesteter, I. p. 91.

paces.¹ It is true that at least the first category is polluted by the worst of all demons—Death (*druj nasu*); but it is difficult to see how St. Sira, afflicted by a disease, of whose character we are not informed, but which was at all events of demoniac origin, could be taken by the Magians into very close proximity to the fire. How, indeed, could she have been in the presence of the fire even had she been in perfect health? To-day only the priests have this right,² but at the period under discussion this seems not to have been the case, for Sapor conducted St. Acyndinus and his companion martyrs into a temple to offer sacrifice.³ Strange as this account of St. Sira may appear to us, I do not believe that we are warranted in summarily rejecting it; and I suggest that in the Sasanid period access to the actual presence of the sacred fire was far less restricted than is the case at present.⁴

To continue with the very typical *Acts* of St. Sira, after profaning and quenching the fire, she accuses the Zoroastrians of being polytheists, and, in particular, of adoring, instead of God, “fire, water, sun, moon, and other stars.”⁵ This charge would be rejected with horror and regarded as an absurd and ignorant slander by a modern Zoroastrian; it would also be baseless as regards the teachings of Zoroaster himself. Yet if anything is certain in the history of religion, it is certain that primitive Iranism was polytheistic, and in the Younger Avesta—younger only in language, but, I believe, immeasurably older in religious outlook than the Zoroastrian *Gāthās*—we have the plainest survivals of an original paganism.⁶ The Amshaspands, for instance, as I have endeavoured to show elsewhere,⁷ were originally mere nature-divinities. Accord-

¹ *Vd.* III. 13-17, V. 45-48, VIII. 4-7, IX. 1-5, XVI. 1-4.

² Cf. Jackson, *Persia, Past and Present*, New York, 1906, p. 367; the best description of a modern temple is given by Darmesteter, I. p. lix. ff. (for India), and by Jackson, pp. 366-372 (for Persia).

³ *A.S.* I. Nov. 469; for the king approaching the fire see also Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VII. 8.

⁴ In one of the Syriac *Acts* a menstruous woman tramples the fire under foot and extinguishes it (Hoffmann, p. 99).

⁵ *A.S.* IV. Mai, 179.

⁶ Cf., for instance, Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg, 1909, pp. 22f., 26.

⁷ *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, VII. (1904), pp. 345-372.

ing to Herodotus,¹ the chief Iranian deities were the sky (Zeus, Ahura Mazda), the sun (Miθra), the moon, the fire, the earth, the winds, and the water; to which Strabo² adds Aphrodite (Anahita), though he states that fire and water were the special objects of sacrifice. In the Sasanian period the crucial test was to endeavour to compel the Christians to worship the sun;³ adoration of fire alone is mentioned but once.⁴ Saints Simeon, Isaac, and Bachtisoe, like St. Acephsimus, are commanded to sacrifice to sun and fire;⁵ others to sun, moon, and fire;⁶ St. Jonas and his companions to sun, fire, and water,⁷ to which earth is added in the case of other martyrs,⁸ or even sun, moon, stars, fire, and water.⁹ During the great persecution which began in 342 under Sapor II. (309-379), St. Ias is offered her life if she will "adore the gods, and honour the sun, and the fire, and the water." She refuses and is scourged, after which she is bidden "to sacrifice to the gods, and to reverence (σεβασθαι) the king, and the fire, and the sun."¹⁰

A remarkably interesting series of gods is that to which St. Anastasius was commanded to pay reverence—"sun and moon and fire and sea, mountains and hills, and all other elements, and metals."¹¹ As regards metals, we need only recall that the

¹ I. 131; for the classical references to the gods of the elements see especially Rapp, *Z.D.M.G.* XIX. (1865), pp. 71-77.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ A.S. I. Feb. 473, III. Feb. 179 (where St. Sadoth gratuitously adds that he will not adore the sun either; according to another version [*ib.* p. 180], he refuses to worship sun, moon, water, or fire), I. Apr. 822, and p. iii., II. Apr. 843, III. Apr. 21, II. Jun. 171.

⁴ A.S. I. Apr. p. ii.; on the other hand, in his polemic St. Giwargis makes his chief attack on fire-worship (Hoffmann, p. 109).

⁵ A.S. III. Mai, 464f., III. Apr. 24.

⁶ Hoffmann, p. 24.

⁷ A.S. III. Mar. 569, 768; see also Hoffmann, p. 53.

⁸ A.S. III. Aug. 287f.

⁹ Hoffmann, p. 88.

¹⁰ A.S. I. Aug. 332f. On this implied equality of the king with the principal divinities see Wilhelm, *Z.D.M.G.* XL. (1886), p. 108; Rapp, *ib.* XX. (1866), p. 118f.

¹¹ A.S. III. Jan. 42.

Amshaspand Xšaθra Vairya ("Desirable Kingdom") was the godling of those elements,¹ while mountains receive their meed of honour in the nineteenth Yast of the Avesta.² For the other objects of worship we find an admirable commentary in the forty-second Hā of the Yasna, a section which, though written in Gāθic Avesta, is a later addition.³ It runs thus: "And the water-springs we worship, and the water-fords we worship, and the divergings of the roads we worship, and the converging of the roads we worship. And the water-coursèd mountains we worship, and the water-holding lakes we worship, and the weal-bringing fields of grain we worship, and the protector and the shaper we worship, and Mazda and Zaraθustra we worship. And the earth and the heaven we worship, and the bold wind, Mazda-created, we worship, and the pinnacle of Haraiti Bərəz we worship, and the ground and all things good we worship The sea Vourukasa we worship And the forward flowing of the waters we worship, and the forward flying of the birds we worship."

Occasionally in the *Acts* we find equations of Iranian with Greek gods. When Sapor enters the fire-temple with St. Acindynus and his companions, he cries, "Great is the power of Zeus whom we reverence!" and he swears not only "by the gods," but, in particular, "by the sun exceeding bright, and by Asclepius most great."⁴ Zeus is obviously Ahura Mazda. Asclepius, as the Greek god of healing is, perhaps, Өrita, who first practised the art of medicine among the Iranians.⁵ After Chosroes II. had captured Jerusalem in June, 614—the memorable year in which he took the Holy Cross to Persia—he commanded the Christians to adore "Jupiter, Apollo, and Diana."⁶ This triad is of peculiar

¹ Gray, p. 359ff.

² Yt. XIX. 0-7; cf. also Herodotus I. 131, Moulton, p. 214.

³ Baunack, *Studien auf dem Gebiete des Griechischen und der arischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1886, I. p. 424.

⁴ A.S. I. Nov. 469: μεγάλη ἡ δύναμις τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν σεβομένου Διός.

⁵ *Ib.* 483: νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς . . . μὰ τὸν ὑπέρλαμπρον ἥλιον καὶ τὸν μέγιστον Ἀσκήπιον; a Magian swears "by the life of Ahura Mazda and his Fortune, and the great, strong throne of Yazdagird" (Hoffmann, p. 63).

⁶ *Vd.* XX. 2ff.; cf. Casartelli, art. "Disease and Medicine," in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, IV. (1911), p. 758. 7 A.S. V. Jun. 166.

interest, for, translated, it is "Ahura Mazda, Miθra, and Anahita," and this is the very group which is named in the Old Persian inscriptions of Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon).¹ Mention is also made of a "temple of Mars" at Jerusalem at this same time. This sounds puzzling at first, but it may mean simply a temporary fire shrine which Chosroes had either erected or had installed in some building. Religious syncretism comes to the fore when, during Sapor's persecution, Mār Mu'ain is commanded to worship, "besides sun, moon, and fire, the great god Zeus; Nanāi (Anahita), the great goddess of the whole earth; the mighty gods Bēl and Nabhō;"² but, on the other hand, Bahram Gōr (420-438) declares, in argument with the martyr Pērōz, that "he also acknowledges only one god; the rest are merely like the 'great ones of the king.'"³ In a Syriac *Act* a mōbaḏ speaks of "our gods Zeus, Kronus, Apollo, Bēdōx, and the rest," i.e., probably Ahura Mazda, Zrvan, Miθra, and Anahita;⁴ and Anahita also seems intended by the goddess Mamai ("Mamma?").⁵

Did the Sasanian Zoroastrians have idols?⁶ There are indications of images of the gods in the Avesta descriptions of Anahita and Vohu Manah,⁷ and we learn from Berosus⁸ that it was Artaxerxes Ochus "who first set up the statue of Aphrodite Anahita in Babylon and Susa and Ecbatana, Persepolis⁹ and Bactria, and Damascus and Sardis, and commanded to reverence it;" while

¹ Art. Susa a, 4f., Ham. 5f.

² Hoffmann, p. 29.

³ *Ib.* p. 42.

⁴ Hoffmann, p. 72; on the identification of Bēdōx see *ib.*, pp. 128-130; on Bēlti as the Aramaic name of the planet Venus see Zimmern and Winckler, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3d ed., Berlin, 1903, pp. 425, 432.

⁵ Hoffmann, p. 74 and note 678.

⁶ This subject will be fully discussed by Jackson in his article "Images and Idols (Persian)" in the seventh volume of the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (read in manuscript) and in a study to appear in the forthcoming *Jubilee Volume of the Sir Jamshetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa*; see also Rapp, *Z.D.M.G.* XX. (1866), p. 81.

⁷ *Yast* V. 126-129; *Vd.* XIX. 20-25; cf. Darmesteter, II. p. 364f.

⁸ *Apud* Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* 5.

⁹ On Πέρσαι = Persepolis see Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London, 1892, II. p. 132, note 3.

Julius Firmicius Maternus writes¹ that the Persians "deputed the substance of fire to images (*simulacra*) of man and woman." To the feminine aspect of fire we shall have occasion to animadvert a little later on. We need not linger over the vague statement that, during Sapor's persecution, many lapsed and sacrificed to idols; ² but a passage in the account of St. Acindynus does demand attention. In the fire-temple to which he was conducted by Sapor was an image (ξόανον), which a parallel text says was "an idol of Zeus,"³ that fell to the ground and was broken. This may, it is true, have been simply the conventional representation of Ahura Mazda, of Assyro-Babylonian *provenance*, which occurs frequently in Iranian sculpture, as over Darius and the rebel leaders at Behistān; but the general context may also be taken as implying that it was a free-standing image of Ormazd.

I have just alluded to a possible feminine aspect of fire. In the Avesta this element is represented as masculine, as "the son of Ahura Mazda."⁴ Yet in one of the Syriac *Acts* the martyr Hasū declares that "fire is no daughter of God, but a serving woman for kings and men of low estate, for poor folk and beggars."⁵ Such a concept of the fire is supported only by Julius Firmicius, and seems doubtful; although, from the general accuracy of the *Acts of the Saints*, it would be, I feel, unwise to reject summarily even so surprising a statement as this.

Unlike most polytheists, the Iranians were intolerant. In the Persian invasion of Greece, the wooden images (βέρη) and the

¹ *De errore profan. relig.* I. 5: ignem in duas diuidunt potestates, naturam eius ad utrumque sexum transferentes et uiri et feminae simulacro ignis substantiam deputantes.

² A.S. VIII. Sept. 129; cf. also Hoffmann, p. 98. The dance of men and women in connexion with a feast in honour of idols in the province of Rād-hān (*ib.*, p. 71) may not have been Iranian, or it may have been connected with some such orgiastic cult as that against which the Gāṇās polemise (*Ys.* XXXII. 10, XLVIII. 10; see Bartholomae, *Gāthā's des Awesta*, Strassburg, 1905, p. 33f., Moulton, pp. 72, 129).

³ A.S. I. Nov. 470: εἶδωλον τοῦ ἀνδριάντος, v.l. Διός. The *Life of St. Nino* also mentions (p. 19) an idol of Armaz, and refers (p. 57f.) to Iranian idolatry as though it were common.

⁴ *Ys.* LXV. 12f., *Sih rōcak* I. 9, *Gāh* I. 9. ⁵ Hoffmann, p. 35.

shrines of the Greeks were burned;¹ but though Xerxes thus destroyed the temple on the Acropolis, he carried off a statue of Artemis from Attica and of Apollo from Branchidæ.² Centuries later, Chosroes violated a Roman temple at Dara;³ and according to the Armenian historians,⁴ Ardasir Pāpakān, while ruling over Armenia, destroyed all the idols of the Parthian gods, together with the images of the sun and moon, but commanded that the sacred fire be kept constantly burning at Bagavan.⁵ On the other hand, the Persian bishop Abdaates burned down a fire-temple, and thus brought on the five years of persecution which began in 415.⁶ Yet, in some cases at least, the Zoroastrians were not over-hasty in wrath. When the priest Narsai put out a sacred fire and destroyed its altar, he was at first simply required to rebuild the altar. On his refusal to do so, he was imprisoned, but was released on bail; and later was bidden to collect 366 fires, put them in the temple, and worship the resultant flame. Only after scorning this command was he put to death.⁷ Concerning the number 366 I have no suggestion to offer; the number is not mentioned in the extant Avesta.⁸

¹ Æschylus, *Persæ*, 809f.

² Herodotus, VIII. 50-54, Pausanias, VIII. xlvi. 3, I. xvi. 3; cf. also Maximus of Tyre, *Dissertationes*, VIII. 4, and see Quackenbos, *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1913, p. 299f. At the same time it must be borne in mind that this temple-burning was not necessarily inspired by religious zeal, and that the Achæmenians were most latitudinarian in their complacency toward the faiths of other peoples (see Gray, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXI. [1900], pp. 178-184, and art. "Achæmenians," in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, I. [1908], pp. 69-73).

³ A.S. I. Jan. 620.

⁴ Patkanian, "Essai d'une histoire de la dynastie des Sassanides d'après les renseignements fournis par les historiens arméniens," tr. Prud'homme, *Journal asiatique*, VI. vii. (1866), p. 144.

⁵ On Bagavan see Hübschmann, "Altarmenische Ortsnamen," *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XVI. (1904), p. 411; and on Armenian idols carried to Armenia from Asia Minor, Greece, and Mesopotamia, see Carrière, *Les huit Sanctuaires de l'Arménie payenne*, Paris, 1899.

⁶ A.S. I. Jan. 479. ⁷ Hoffmann, p. 37f.

⁸ Prof. Moulton verbally suggests one fire for each of the 365 days of the year and another for Ātar. This seems highly probable. At the same time, one is tempted to query whether, as Mrs. Gray suggests to me, he was not in reality bidden to make the *Ātas Bahrām*, the preparation of which took a year, though this fire, taken from fifteen sorts of flame, was composed of 1001, instead of 366, fires (Darmesteter, I., pp. lix., 157.)

From idols we naturally pass to sacrifice; and here we note that a certain Paul marked his lapse by drinking the blood of sacrificed animals and eating their meat,¹ while a similar test was proposed to the more faithful St. Æithalas,² who was also commanded to perform the act of generation³—a requirement which finds its very simple explanation in the fact that in Zoroastrianism celibacy is a grievous sin.⁴ Again, St. Tarbula (or Pherboutha) and her companions were offered their lives by a Magian if she would yield herself to him, or, according to another version, become his wife.⁵ But she scorned to purchase earthly life at the price of life eternal; and she was but one of countless martyrs in Persia. Dire was the penalty, but I do not propose to detail the list of tortures, and shall mention merely those which may have a bearing on Zoroastrianism.

A favourite preliminary torture was scourging;⁶ and while I am aware that this is a most natural mode of exhorting to a change of ways, I cannot but think first, in this connexion, of the long passages in the *Videvdāt* which enjoin scourging with the *aspāhe astra* ("horse-whip") and *sraosō-carana* ("obedience-worker").⁷ When martyrs were cast into pits filled with serpents,⁸ we can readily understand it, in view of the well-known Zoroastrian conviction that reptiles are the creation of Ahriman. Although at first glance heat, as being produced by fire, might seem ill-adapted

¹ A.S. II. Jun. 171.

² A.S. III. Apr. 25, 28. On bloody sacrifices in the Avesta see *Yast* V., IX., *Vd.* XVIII. 70; cf. also Herodotus, I. 132, Darmesteter, III. p. lxxviii. f. I see no reason to suppose that the account is coloured by any reference to Acts xv. 29, xxi. 25, Revelation ii. 14, 20.

³ A.S. III. Apr. 25.

⁴ Cf. on this whole subject, Casartelli, art. "Celibacy (Iranian)," in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, III. (1910), p. 276; on marriage with non-Zoroastrians see Gray, art. "Family (Persian)," *ib.* V. (1912), p. 745.

⁵ A.S. III. Apr. 21, 22.

⁶ A.S. III. Feb. 180, II. Mar. 258, III. Apr. 21, III. Mai, 464f., I. Aug. 332, Hoffmann, p. 25.

⁷ *Vd.* IV. 11-44, 55, V. 44, VI. 5, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, VII. 72, VIII. 23-26, 105f., XIII. 4, 12-15, 24-27, XIV. 2, XV. 51, XVI. 13, 15f., XVIII. 74; cf. Darmesteter, II. pp. xvi.-xxi.

⁸ A.S. I. Nov. 478.

religiously to be brought into contact with unbelievers or with any other human being, yet the use of heated awls, styluses, and brass, molten lead, and boiling pitch and sulphur, or hot ovens,¹ as instruments of conversion is not inexplicable. When we remember that, at the Last Day, "the fire and halo melt the metal of Shatvairō, in the hills and mountains, and it remains on this earth like a river. Then all men will pass into that melted metal and will become pure; when one is righteous, then it seems to him just as though he walks continually in warm milk; but when wicked, then it seems to him in such manner as though, in the world, he walks continually in melted metal,"² the question may even be raised whether these agencies of pain were really intended altogether as torture. May it be that they were in part a form of ordeal? This question possibly receives at least a partial answer in the test applied to Ātarōpāt, son of Māraspand and primate of Sapor II.: "the melted metal, when they drop it upon the region of his pure heart, becomes as pleasant to him as though they were milking milk upon it. When they drop it upon the region of the heart of the wicked and the sinners, it burns, and they die."³ I do not, of course, deny that the motive of sheer cruelty was also present; I fully recognise that there is a brutal joy in witnessing the agony of one's bitter foes. But the psychology which underlies all attempts of one form of faith to crush another by force is, I believe, far too complex to be condemned off-hand as sprung only from cruelty and hate. All this, however, raises too vast a problem for us now. I do not press the point; I do not profess myself willing to subscribe to a theory that Zoroastrian torture of Christians was merely a form of ordeal; but perhaps I may remark that ordeals by fire and water are to be found in the Pahlavi texts.⁴

¹ A.S. VIII. Sept. 130, III. Feb. 180, III. Mar. 769f., I. Nov. 463, VIII. Sept. 132.

² *Bundahishn*, XXX. 19f.

³ *Sāyast lā-Sāyast* XV. 16f.

⁴ Cf. *Dinkart* VIII. xx. 40-42, xxi. 24f., xlii. 6, IX. xl. 12. On molten brass and hot cauldron as punishments in hell see *Artā-ī-Vīrāf Nāmak* LXIV., LXXVI., and LX. An interesting statement of the preliminary proceeding in Persian torture is given in A.S. Propyl. Nov. 569=*Synax. Constantinopol.* 29 March: οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι ὃν τύψαι μέλλουσιν εἰς γῆν καθίσαντες ἐν ἐνὶ ξύλῳ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας ἀποδεσμοῦσιν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ τις λίθος ἀδάμας ἀκίνητος δέχεται τὰς πληγὰς

Torture by flaying alive,¹ combing off the flesh with metal combs,² and sawing asunder³ need not detain us longer than to remark that the second is mentioned by Artā-ī-Vīrāf as one of the punishments in hell,⁴ and that, according to Zoroastrianism,⁵ Yima was sawn asunder by Spityura. When, however, we find that the Sasanians kindled fire under Christians, or burned them to death, or cast portions of their corpses into the fire, or threw their dead bodies into the water,⁶ we may be pardoned for feeling surprise. This is quite contrary to the ordinary idea of Zoroastrian reverence for the elements. According to the Avesta,⁷ he who burns a corpse is beyond all purification, both in this world and in the next, and must be killed forthwith. Herodotus tells us⁸ that Cambyzes acted contrary to his religion when he commanded that the dead body of Amasis be burnt; Strabo repeats⁹ the statement of the *Videvdāt* that the burner of a corpse was killed; a poem in the Greek Anthology¹⁰ makes the Persian slave Euphrates implore his master not to burn his body or cast it into the water, but to wrap it round and commit it to the earth; and Diogenes Laertius¹¹ echoes the same idea. Yet there is a passage in the *Videvdāt*¹² which declares that so long as the wicked man or the heretic lives, he both directly and indirectly exerts a malignant influence on all creatures of the good creation—water, fire, cattle, and pious men—but not when he is dead; and in one of the Pahlavi texts this concept is elaborately developed.¹³ This makes the burning of Christians entirely explicable. By their death—so the Persians believed—the kingdom of evil was weakened, and that of good was strengthened. When a Zoroastrian is seemingly burned or drowned, it is not the

¹ A.S. III. Feb. 180. ² Hoffmann, p. 53; *Acts of Mar Qardagh*, LII. (*Analecta Bollandiana*, IX. [1890], p. 79). ³ A.S. III. Mar. 770, III. Apr. 21, V. Jun. 163; Hoffmann, p. 33. ⁴ *Artā-ī-Vīrāf Nāmak*, LI, LXII. ⁵ Darmesteter, II. p. 299, note 76.

⁶ A.S. I. Nov. 463, 466, 489, I. Apr. p. ii, III. Mai, 464f., V. Jun. 163, Hoffmann, pp. 54f., 63, 33, A.S. III. Mar. 770.

⁷ *Vd.* VII. 25-27, VIII. 73f. ⁸ III. 16 (cf. Moulton, pp. 44, 215).

⁹ P. 732. ¹⁰ III. xiii. 4 (ed. Jacobs, Leipzig, 1794-1814, I. p. 254: *περίστειλάς με διδοῦ χθονί*). ¹¹ *De Vit. Philos. proæm.* VI. 7. ¹² V. 35-38.

¹³ *Gujastak Abālīs* VII. 10-19, ed. and tr. Barthélemy, Paris, 1887.

fire or the water that kills, but a demon.¹ We are not told what was the belief concerning the source of such a death when it befell an evil being, such as a Christian was supposed to be; but analogy leads us to believe that in such a case the fire or the water of Ahura Mazda triumphed over the demon of unbelief.

In this connexion we must not forget a remarkable story in the *Thousand Nights and One Night*,² which tells how the Muhammadan As'ad was made captive by the Zoroastrian Bahrām that he might be carried by ship across the Blue Sea and be sacrificed on the Mountain of Fire. "When the day of the festival of the Fire cometh," said Bahrām, "we will sacrifice him on the mountain, as a propitiatory offering whereby we shall pleasure the Fire." This sacrifice took place but once a year, the time being, I suggest, on the fire-festival of Šab šadaq, five days before the middle of winter, when, even in the Islāmic period, cattle and birds, fettered with dry herbs that they might readily escape, were driven into the flame. This festival, though ignored in Avesta and Pahlavi, is repeatedly mentioned in the *Šāh-nāmah* on the same plane as Naurūz, or New Year's Day, and it was obviously of great antiquity and popularity.³ It is possible that we may go even further, and identify the Blue Sea with Lake Urumiah, the Bahira Kabūdān of al-Mas'ūdī and Ibn Hauqal,⁴ while the Mountain of Fire seems to be the famous fire-temple of Ādargusnasp at Ganjak, on the summit of Mount Zindan.⁵ It may also be observed that the Armenian historians declare that Kavāḍ I. (488-531), while in Mesopotamia, sacrificed four hundred

¹ *Vd.* V. 8f.

² *Nights* 227-236; for two probable instances of human sacrifice (by burying alive) in the Achæmenian period see Herodotus VII. 114, and cf. Moulton, pp. 57, 128f., and Edwards, art. "Human Sacrifice (Iranian)," in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, VI. (1913), pp. 853-855.

³ Cf. Gray, art. "Festivals and Fasts (Iranian)," in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, V. (1912), p. 873f.

⁴ See Marquart, *Erānsahr*, Berlin, 1901, p. 143, Jackson, *Persia*, p. 74.

⁵ Cf. Hoffmann, pp. 250-253, and especially Jackson, pp. 124-143. At the same time we must remember that the "Blue Sea" (Bahr al-Azraq) generally means the Mediterranean (Burton, *Supplementary Nights*, London, n.d., VII. p. 256, note).

maidens to an idol named Kouzis or Kovz.¹ I know at present of no other mention of this deity, unless it be a name for Vərəθraϋna, the god of victory.² In similar fashion one of the versions of the Georgian *Life of St. Nino* says³ that a thousand first-born had been sacrificed to Armaz and Zaden, while a prince had been a burnt-offering to the Georgian deities Gatzi and Ga.

The act of throwing the corpses of the martyrs into the water is based on the same principle as burning them; whereas the *Videvdāt*⁴ describes at length the impurity with which the dead body of the Zoroastrian pollutes the fluid element. In this connexion we must note that Fr. Dhorme,⁵ in arguing that the Achæmenians were not Zoroastrians—a point of view wherein I have been for many years heartily and wholly in accord with him⁶—calls attention to the statement of Darius⁷ that in his battle with Nidintu-Bel “the enemy fled into the water; the water carried them away.” In this the learned Dominican sees an indication that the Achæmenian Persians had less religious awe of the water than those whom Herodotus describes⁸ as unwilling even to wash their hands in it. May it not be, however, that Darius indeed shared this view, but that, since the corpses of his foes were regarded by him as unclean, he did not consider the Euphrates to be polluted by them?

¹ Patkanian, p. 179.

² Cf. Armenian *koz*, “boar,” the incarnation of Vərəθraϋna in the form of a boar (*Yt.* XIV. 15), and the boar engraved on the ring which constituted the seal of Persia (on this seal see Patkanian, pp. 113, 221)?

³ P. 26, note 1; on Gatzi (cf. Georgian *catsi*, “man”) and Ga (or Gaim) see *ib.* pp. 19, 34, 74.

⁴ VI. 26-41; cf. also Moulton, p. 215f.

⁵ *Revue biblique*, new series, X. (1913), p. 21.

⁶ Gray, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXI. (1900), pp. 177-184. I thought that I had made my position clear in my art. “Achæmenians” in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, I. (1908), pp. 69-73, but Fr. Dhorme (p. 24) appears to think that I suppose the Achæmenians to have been Zoroastrians. This is the very reverse of my real attitude, in which I am glad to have the support of Fr. Lagrange (*Revue biblique*, new series, I. [1904], p. 198). My view is courteously and ably criticised by Moulton, p. 39ff., who makes a strong plea for the Zoroastrianism of the Achæmenians.

⁷ *Behistān Inscription*, § 19. ⁸ I. 138.

After the martyrs had been slain, their bodies were normally exposed in accordance with Iranian custom. Thus, after St. Ias had been beheaded, "they commanded the watchers that her remains be guarded [carefully] that no one might entomb her until the birds of heaven came and devoured her body, since it was not the custom for the Persians to bury the dead, in order that the earth might not be, as they say, defiled."¹ The corpse of St. Sira was thrown out to the dogs;² and after the bodies of St. Barsabias and his companions had been cast to the dogs and the birds, their heads were hung up "in the temple of Anahita, the goddess of the Persians, as a terror to the populace."³ The defilement brought upon the earth by burial is too well known to require emphasis;⁴ but though the ground where a corpse lies is unclean for a year,⁵ this is not the case with the body of a misbeliever, who does not, for reasons already noted, pollute the soil.⁶ The exposure of corpses is also described by the Greek writers,⁷ and the devouring of dead bodies by "corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds" is repeatedly mentioned both by them⁸ and by the Avesta.⁹ So far was this abhorrence to burial carried that, at the instance of the chief Magian, Bahrām Gōr exhumed all bodies buried since his father's reign and exposed them to the sun.¹⁰

Besides Zoroastrianism, the *Acta Sanctorum* touch also upon

¹ A.S. I. Aug. 334: παρήγγειλαν δὲ τοῖς τηροῦσι φυλαχθῆναι [ἐπιμελῶς] τὸ λείψανον αὐτῆς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐνταφιάσῃ αὐτὴν ἕως οὐ τὰ πετηνὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατέλθωσι, καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς καταφάγωσιν· ἐπειδὴ περ οὐκ ἦν ἔθος Πέρσαις θάπτειν νεκροὺς, ἵνα μὴ μολύνηται, φησιν, ἡ γῆ.

² A.S. IV. Mai, 181; cf. also III. Apr. 26.

³ A.S. VIII. Oct. 846: in delubro Nahatidis deæ Persarum ad populi terrorem.

⁴ Cf. *Vd.* III. 8f., 36-39; cf., further, Moulton, pp. 163f., 202f., 217, 350, n. 4, for the earlier practice of burial.

⁵ *Vd.* VI. 1ff., VII. 45f. ⁶ *Ib.* V. 35-38.

⁷ Agathias, II. 23; similarly, in the fifth century the Sasanian Kavād unsuccessfully urged the Christian Iberian Gurgenes to expose the dead to dogs and birds instead of burying them (Procopius, *De bello Persico*, I. 2).

⁸ Herodotus, I. 140, Theodoret, *Græcarum affectionum curatio*, IX. p. 935, ed. Schulze (ed. Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, LXXXIII. col. 1045), Strabo and Agathias, *loc. cit.*

⁹ *Vd.* VI. 45-47, VII. 29f., 33f.; cf. also III. 20. ¹⁰ Hoffmann, p. 39.

Slavic and Celtic paganism;¹ and while these may be regarded as coming within our purview, the data in question have been fully considered by others, and may be passed over here. The same statement holds of the scanty Germanic material;² the few Armenian references are chiefly Iranian, and the most important of these has been fully treated by Carrière;³ while the one description of a Tatar tribe⁴ adds nothing to our knowledge of that people. I need only add, therefore, a few mentions, mostly of a brief and unilluminating character, which the *Acts* make regarding some divinities of little-known religions.

In Sardinia there were two idols Arpa (or Arphan) and Ariana. Of their cult we are told only that a bull with gilded horns was offered to them, in company with Apollo and Jupiter, for the healing of a daughter.⁵

In Tauromenium, the modern Taormina in Sicily, mention is made, with no further details, of two deities named Φάλλων and Λύσων.⁶

A goddess Adrastes (or Arestes or Arastes) is noted as having been worshipped at Antioch in the third century of our era, but it is suggested by the Bollandists that her appellation may be a corruption of the name of the Greek Ares.⁷ Equally vague is the allusion to the deities Baki—mentioned in company with Dionysus—and Nibarax, who were honoured at Ægæ in Cilicia.⁸

Finally, mention must be made of a bit of folk-medicine which, evidently Jewish, may go back, as Prof. Moulton suggests to me, to some such principle as that which underlies Genesis xv. 17 and Jeremiah xxxiv. 18f., where a covenant is ratified by passing

¹ A.S. I. Mai, 575, IV. Jun. 135, I. Jul. 353, 357, 361f., 386, 388f., II. Sept. p. ix., V. Sept. 346; III. Jan. 380, II. Mar. 549, I. Apr. 21, IV. Sept. 73, I. Oct. 146, III. Oct. 47f., 50, IX. Oct. 572, I. Nov. 667f., II. Nov. 277f. (cf. II. Jan. 94?). ² A.S. I. Jun. 190, 490, I. Oct. 230, 237, 243.

³ *Les huit Sanctuaires de l'Arménie payenne*, Paris, 1899; cf. A.S. VIII. Sept. 331ff., 378-380, 384. ⁴ A.S. V. Jun. 507.

⁵ A.S. II. Jan. 36ff.: Deum esse Iovem et Arpam et Minervam . . . Deus Arpa dicatur aut Ariana aut Minerva.

⁶ A.S. Propyl. Nov. 809 = *Synax. Constantinopol.* 9 July.

⁷ A.S. III. Jan. 188. ⁸ A.S. XIII. Oct. 271f.: magno deo Baci et Dionyso.

between the halves of a sacrifice cut in twain.¹ So few examples of this rite are known that one described in the *Acta Sanctorum*² may well be added to the list. When the Queen of Persia fell ill, the Jews, who play in the *Acts* a maleficent rôle as regards their Christian opponents, declared that St. Tarbula and her two companions had prepared poison for her. Thereupon the Magi condemned the three to death, and after they had been sawn asunder, and the pieces impaled on either side of the way, the queen was conducted between the severed halves that her illness might be cured.*

¹ See on the rite Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 2d ed., London, 1894, p. 480f., Schmidt, art. "Covenant," in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, I. (1899), col. 931f.

² A.S. III. Apr. 21 (= Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II. 12) and p. i. ff.

* Some remarks on this paper made or communicated by Bishop Casartelli and Dr. Moulton will be found in the Proceedings of the Egyptian and Oriental Society, pp. 11-15.

THE JEWS AS BUILDERS¹

By ARCHIBALD C. DICKIE, M.A., F.S.A.

It appears to be true that, although some early Hebrew buildings may have been of a nature justifying the title of Architecture, exploration has revealed evidence of little more than mere crude building as a general characteristic. At the same time, fragments of early works show a degree of skill in mason-craft, which forces one to consider present evidence as inconclusive.

In Palestine, the work of the excavator has been confined to the sites west of the Jordan, and out of the many cities enumerated in the Old Testament, only about twelve have been excavated. These are Jerusalem, Gezer, Beth Shemesh, Lachish, Tell Sandahannah, Tell es-Safi, and Tell Zakariah by the Palestine Exploration Fund, and Samaria, Megiddo, Jericho, and Taanach by German and American Exploration Societies. In these sites, complete investigation was impossible for various reasons. Plans of the boundary fortifications have, however, been recovered, and it is now possible to judge of their modest proportions. An area of anything from six to twenty-five acres would appear to have been commonly considered sufficient to contain an important city. Leaving out of the question, for the moment, the extended Jerusalem of Solomon and his successors, it is within these closely packed areas that we must search. At the outset, they stand self-convicted of a condition precluding the development of building and this conclusion is strengthened by an examination within the walls.

¹ A paper read at a meeting of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society on March 11th, 1914.

For some years, I have tried to gather together available evidence, in the hope of finding some continuation of a type such as one may reasonably assume, was expressed by the buildings of Solomon, our understanding of which is based upon descriptions. Up to the present, however, only negative results are on record.

It is necessary to commence our examination with the earliest evidence of occupation by the races preceding the Hebrew invasion, for the reason that housing conditions then established appear to have continued, with only slight alterations, up to Hellenistic times. Prof. Macalister's work at Gezer shows that the Neolithic races of Palestine had established themselves in extensive cave communities of considerable strength as early as 3000 B.C. These races chose sites on rocky hills or spurs of hills, wherein they burrowed through the soft limestone. In some cases, their abodes were extended in the manner of rabbit burrows having many compartments connected by passages and provided with various entrances and exits. Entrances were usually in the form of manholes cut through the roofs, with two or three rudely cut steps, rising from the floor of each cave so entered. Some regard for internal convenience is shown in the various niches, recessed in the walls, used in all probability, as cupboards or wardrobes. Small triangular lamp niches, much smoked, set about 3 or 4 ft. high explain the system of artificial lighting. Except in those compartments having manholes, the caves were altogether dark. Evidence of an attempt at something akin to the "Grand Manner" in Cave Architecture is seen in one of the systems explored at Beit Jibrin. Here is a large rectangular hall measuring 47 ft. \times 18 ft. having recessed chambers from its sides and approached by a regular rock-cut staircase; included in the system are several rounded chambers. The only evidence of decoration to be found in these caves are the graffiti scratched on the walls, but as it is impossible to tell when these were cut, too much importance need not be put upon them. Special caves were set aside for burial purposes.

The geographical distribution of Palestine is such that limited

tribal boundaries became inevitable,¹ and the first real building effort is displayed in the earth ramparts, cased in stone, by which these cave cities were protected against neighbouring enemies. Semitic invaders drove out the Troglodytes and established themselves on the vacated sites *c.* 2500 B.C. Although the caves appear to have remained in use, they were overlaid by buildings and the low fortifications were replaced by high stone walls. One may therefore assume that the site then yielded accommodation both above and below the surface. The remains of buildings of this and later periods, show them to have been of the rudest possible character, laid out without system and packed together haphazard, having regard to nothing indicating a knowledge of even the most primitive town-planning. The huts themselves were small and irregular in shape, showing no geometrical knowledge. Narrow approach-alleys, unpaved and bounded by plain mud-plastered walls, meandered through the maze to the various entrances; in fact, plans of that period are so confused and fragmentary that the existence of alleys can only be assumed. Fortifications appear to have occupied the chief attention of the new tenants and these, in conjunction with the more important water engineering works, provide the strongest evidence of engineering ability.

The Semitic races (which for simplicity's sake may be grouped under one name "Canaanite") now established, made little or no progress in the arts of building and, except in the way of adding towers and otherwise strengthening the fortifications, they appear to have had little opportunity to improve. These cities then, such as they were, became the scenes of the triumphs of the invading Hebrews, and the spies, who told of high and strong walls, "fenced up to heaven" were reporting on 6 to 25 acre forts, within which the refugees from the outer villages joined their chief for protection. The rivalry and jealousy of the marauding clans of Canaan, to which the high walls bear ample testimony, were the Hebrews' strongest allies in their piece-meal conquests.

After the occupation of Palestine by the Hebrews, the conditions of cities varied only slightly. Fortifications were, from time to

¹ G. AdameSmith, *Historical Geography*.

time, strengthened. Successive layers of superimposed foundations, found in every mound excavated and frequently accompanied by regular layers of ashes, quantities of charred grain, etc., tell of demolition and hurried rebuilding in confirmation of written history. Some little improvement is seen in house-planning. The single hut, which had previously more often been extended by the addition of rooms to its sides, gradually disappears and more methodical plans appear, consisting of outer open court, living chamber entering off the court and inner chambers, covered by flat roofs with protecting parapets (according to the Law). Walls were built of mud bricks or stone, in the case of the latter, the stones were usually rough blocks laid in mud; squared stones appear rarely and as if from the hand of imported workmen. Internally, the walls were plastered and small fragments of painted plaster discovered show some attempts at colour decoration. Roofs were formed of rough joists covered with brushwood and mud, unusually wide spans were carried on beams with intermediate supports of wooden posts in stone base sockets introduced to prevent the post sinking into the clay floor.

An interesting if gruesome custom practised by the Canaanites, and continued apparently for some time by the Hebrews, was that of human sacrifice in the foundation dedication rites of their buildings, to which there is allusion in the Old Testament. Bodies buried diagonally, under the return angle of the foundations have been found, indicating an importance put upon stability, scarcely borne out by the insufficiency of the building itself. It was, however, just that want of constructional skill, which made it possible for the winter rains, penetrating the heart of loosely built and badly founded walls, to effect a complete collapse. In this connection, reference may be made to a custom in vogue to-day, among native builders, viz., that of building the walls of a house and leaving them uncovered for a winter, in order to put them to the water test.¹ A position also reserved for dedication rites

¹ The parallel is made more complete by an examination of the present system of building in Palestine which is equally loose but rendered slightly more homogeneous by the substitution of lime mortar for the mud invariably used by the ancient builders.

was underneath the threshold, and in later Hebrew times the rite was observed by the more humane burial of a lamp between two bowls as symbolic of the life. In these and in many other references, there is evidence of a demand for durability, akin to what has been ever present in all great national building achievements. The decorated granite of Egypt was a consummation of the same ideal, but the Jew never reached the stage of even making the most of his own soft limestone. Distraigned and distressed, in his building infancy, he sought refuge in sacrifice, from calamity to which his experience lent many parallels. "What man is there that hath built a new house and hath not dedicated it? Let him return lest he die in battle" (Deut.).

Solomon's imported work at Jerusalem 400 or 500 years after the conquest, was a great advance. In spite of much promise, however, it appears to have had little after-effect, and there are little or no signs of improvement in the buildings of other cities with which his reign is credited. At Lachish, Prof. Flinders Petrie discovered a few fragments of the Solomonic period, showing the Egyptian lintel cavetto and bead mouldings used over doorways in conjunction with jamb slab decoration in the form of low relief pilasters with rudely carved volutes. The latter discovery is one of particular interest illustrating, as it does, the stone cutters' primitive attempt to imitate a feature in which the volute occurs, as early as *c.* 1000 B.C. The scantiness of such fragments, however, point to chance importation, the lintel was undoubtedly borrowed from Egypt, and the volute may possibly be traced to some remote Ionic prototype.

The main features considered in the "lay out" of a normal Jewish city were: the Stronghold or inner fort, the High Place, the Broad Place by the Gate, and the Market Place. The stronghold had the obvious and most important function of a last defence. The High Place was prominent in both Canaanite and Jewish cities and consisted of an open area in which a row of monoliths was placed, accompanied by an altar, laver and cave for refuse. All about the area and around the bases of the standing stones at Gezer, bodies of sacrificed infants in earthenware jars were buried

in Canaanite and early Jewish periods. It is the alignment of standing stones,¹ however, which is chiefly interesting in our present quest. These sacred boulders express a condition of building barbarity which could not have existed contemporaneously with architecture as an expression of the higher building sense; they were borrowed and remained, for the time being, as monuments of Jewish inability to erect a more fitting offering.

Hellenistic influence brought with it, the first real improvement in building and planning. The toleration of Alexander the Great marks a new period of semi-national building, and a greater development is shown in the 200 or 300 years following his conquest, than during the whole preceding period of over 1000 years. Although this term of comparative prosperity was broken by the viciousness of Antiochus Epiphanes and the consequent revolt of the Jews, it was renewed in even greater degree, during their independence under the princely family of the Maccabees. Fashions in Greek manners and architecture became popular. Regard for formality and order in the lay-out of city-plans is seen, streets became wider, and buildings show the temper of fitness to their sites and purpose. The main features of Greek architecture were borrowed and incorporated with such strong local feeling that there seemed hopes of a national type as the eventual result of Greek tutoring. Before this could be accomplished, however, Rome stepped in with overpowering influence.

The painted Tombs of Marissa, discovered by Drs. Peters and Thierch, show a type of architecture of this Græco-Syrian character in which the parapet is incorporated in the façade, over triangular-headed openings flanked by quasi-Greek details of a peculiarly local character. The remains of the Temple of Onias at Leontopolis excavated by Dr. Flinders Petrie, appear to show the same illogical use of classic entablature in conjunction with parapets of the same wavy outline as those illustrated at Marissa. The stern Greek treatment of the eaves was not observed. The parapet, which was legally demanded, maintained its place as the crowning feature and below it the cornice appears only as an intermediate horizontal band. If

¹ There are eight stones standing in a line of about 100 ft., the largest stone being 10 ft. 6 in. high.

it were possible, it would be interesting to discuss the battle between the architecture of the local flat roof and parapet here illustrated, and that of the sloping roof and cornice of alien Greece. In spite of the architectural impetus of the latter, everything points to the retention of the parapet as an all-important detail which, in the natural course of development, must have quickly ousted the classic eave and gable and so have established a definite constructional form, arising out of the flat roof to which beauty could be partnered.

Such a paper as this would not be complete without further reference to the Temples of Jerusalem. The description of Solomon's Temple and Courts are so full that many restorations have been attempted. As, however, no single portion of the remains of any of the Temples has been yet identified, it will be well, in the light of recent discoveries of contemporary buildings elsewhere, to confine oneself only to generalities. The temple proper was comparatively small, covering an area of about 90 x 30 ft., and having a height to the ceiling of 45 ft., the ceiling presumably being flat. Externally, the building seems to have been plain and it would appear that the "Coping" indicates merely the existence of a parapet as a crowning feature enclosing a flat roof. Masonry was smooth-dressed and close-jointed, and in this respect it differs from most of the masonry of the period elsewhere. Stones occurring in the walls of Jerusalem which may, with some certainty, be assigned to the period, show similar advanced masonrycraft. The two external columns had richly decorated "chapiters." Internally, cedar boarding was largely used as wall covering and "there was no stone seen," woodwork was in parts richly carved, and gilding was freely applied in the decoration. Undoubtedly, the Temple of Solomon, with its surrounding courts, cloisters and gates, platforms and steps, was by far the greatest building of the Jews. Its character was Phœnician, since it was the work of Phœnicians, but there *speculation* *each*. The enthusiasm shown at the completion of *with an offering to God*, can well be imagined. The Jews themselves *know no building but their own rude huts and fortifications*, so that Solomon was forced

to borrow Hiram's skilled craftsmen. That the group of buildings was laid out with considerable architectural skill is evident, although it must also be borne in mind that, by comparison, it loomed large and rich in the eyes of the Jews, who saw in it, the centre of national aspirations under divine favour. After the Captivity, the Temple and Courts which had been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, were re-built by Zerubbabel, *c.* 520 B.C. The work was not up to the standard of the original buildings (Hag. ii. 3), and this is not surprising when we compare the social and political conditions of the Jews.

A great portion of Herod's extended Temple area still remains. It is the power and dignity of these fortifications with their huge internal vaulted substructure transforming the irregular hill into a great level platform, which tell something of the story. Such a setting warranted a fitting jewel, and it is unlikely that here the finest period of Imperial Rome should have failed. This great effort was of course entirely alien and dominating, generously applied to Jewish service but only lent for an imperial purpose. In no other light can it be considered in Jewish History.

Comparison is here strongly marked. Great building is begotten of great expansion, but the greatness of the Jews lay in their heroic but unsuccessful struggles for the preservation of national integrity. They had forsaken their tents for the unlovely walled shelters of the Canaanites, and within these they strove against internal sedition and external enemies. No better instance of this can be quoted than that of Simon and John, who, having common cause against Titus, found opportunity, in the breathing spaces of Roman attacks, to wage war against each other; this at a time when the sufferings of a protracted siege, in defence of their most sacred possession, had all but reached their limit.

The references to building greatness in the Old Testament, indicate a pride out of all scale with actuality. Ideals were not lacking, "Behold, I will lay thy stones with fair colours and thy foundations with sapphires . . . and I will make thy windows with agates and thy gates of carbuncles and thy borders of pleasant stones." So wrote Isaiah with the true imagination of a great builder. The

desire to build in strength and beauty is abundantly evident. Had history been different, Solomon's great example might have laid the foundation of a national style of architecture; the disruption which followed his death, however, left his reign the only period in which development on these lines was possible. The arts of peace died in the seed and the greatest works of the Jews are to be found in their water-supplies and fortifications. These show engineering power of no mean standard, forced out of them by the sheer necessity for self-preservation.

SOME BABYLONIAN TABLETS IN THE
MANCHESTER MUSEUM.

BY C. H. W. JOHNS, M.A., LITT.D.

IN 1903, a London dealer in antiquities offered me a small collection of Babylonian tablets, about 40, supposed by him to have been ~~the price was prohibitive~~; but I was

NOTE

These tablets were only placed in the
custody of the Manchester Museum
in 1913

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IN 1903, a London dealer in antiquities offered me a small collection of Babylonian tablets, about 40, supposed by him to have been found at Babylon. The price asked was prohibitive; but I was able to make some hurried notes of the contents of about 30 of them. I denoted them as collection G and informed the dealer that they were certainly from Kish. Six months or so later another lot was offered me from Marseilles, through a London agent, who, of course, knew nothing but what he was told by his Bagdad principal. These also proved to have come from Kish, but were accompanied by a number of poor specimens from Telloh. The price was somewhat reduced, but the agent had no power to sell separately. Of these, I copied about a dozen of the most interesting. So far as I then knew, these two lots were the first tablets to come from Kish. Quite lately, I discovered that some of those called G and some of the later lot were either duplicates or else my hasty copies had not recorded the differences. Either they had been offered to me again or they were accidentally very similar.

What I noted at these times may here be placed on record as a catalogue, for the reliability of which I advance no claim. But I do not know exactly how to account for the close resemblances between my notes made then and my careful copies made in 1910 of another lot of tablets sent me from a Paris dealer. These were

120 in number. Many of them seemed to me of great interest and well worth publication. I suggested to the late Professor H. W. Hogg, that he should buy them for the Manchester University. He seemed very willing to do so, but had no funds available. At his suggestion I made a rough catalogue of them, while he applied to the University and to generous friends for funds. Meantime, I made such copies as I could and when finally, by the generosity of Professor Arthur Schuster, the University was in a position to purchase, it acquired 55 tablets, and I was able to deposit with them fair copies of about 40 tablets. Bye and bye, it struck me that this collection G contained several texts which I had copied in 1903 or noted in 1902. Subsequent visits to the University of Manchester have confirmed this view and it is morally certain that either the original discovery, probably made by native diggers, embraced a good many duplicates now dispersed among different Museums, or else the same tablets were by a curious chance offered to me again and again by different dealers. Before the negotiations were quite complete, another lot denoted by me as H was offered to me. Out of these Professor Hogg purchased 46. These were not long enough in my possession for me to copy more than 20, but it was possible to make notes of a few more and a rough catalogue.

It seems of interest now to publish all the material known to me, for the following reasons. (i) The original collection found at Kish, like many others, probably formed a family deed-chest, so to speak, including the records of business transactions of a group of closely related persons rather than of a temple or city archive. The tablets, and they were many, sold with them were, consciously or not, mixed with them by the many dealers through whose hands they had passed; or by the scholars who saw them before me. The publication of all the material in my possession may lead to the recognition of the whereabouts of other tablets once forming part of the same collection and so to its more or less complete reconstruction. This material will help to assign the scattered items to their true connection and provenance. I have no doubt, for example, that the tablet published by DR. A. UNGNAD, in *Babyloniaca* II. pp. 257-274, was once part of this collection; compare

G 15 and G 33. (ii) Several of the tablets bought for Manchester in 1910 have since perished from the presence of earthy salts in the clay, which have absorbed water from the humid atmosphere and become mere heaps of disintegrated clay. It is clear that none have been completely lost, but it is not certain to which of my copies they really correspond. Hence some of my copies appear to preserve a text which I am unable to collate. Duplicates may exist elsewhere, or I may have copied some tablet now elsewhere preserved. But my copies probably preserve a fairly accurate account of some important items. I trust that their publication now will not be regarded as an infringement of the rights of their present possessors, if it should be the case that they were not eventually purchased by the Manchester University. (iii) As I only copied, from time to time, what took my fancy, some tablets which were purchased in 1910 or later by Professor Hogg may since have perished without leaving any record at all. Many of those which are still recognisable with reasonable certainty no longer afford a text nearly so complete as when I copied them. I believe these copies were fairly accurate, but it must be remembered that as I may have made them from a duplicate, which may still exist somewhere, I have found it impossible to decide in some cases whether the original ever was at Manchester.

On the whole collections G and H, it may be said that their nucleus came from Kish, the modern Oheimar. These tablets were most of them in perfect condition when found; even though they consisted of unburnt clay, the characters were as sharp and clear as the first day on which they were written, and the surface admitted of receiving a high polish by gentle brushing. Such tablets will keep indefinitely in dry air. They largely concern the business undertakings of one Bashti-il-abi, who bought and sold lands, let or hired houses and slaves, between the 3rd year of Ammiditana and the 25th of Ammizaduga. With him occur a fairly constant set of neighbours who act as witnesses and parties with him to the undertakings in which he engaged. Many of these bear names of the peculiar Amorite type which also characterised the ruling monarchs of the First Dynasty. But genuine Babylonian names also occur which must represent the

descendants of the early Semitic immigrations, perhaps that of the period of Sargon of Akkad. For example, Naram-Sin, which was the name of the son of Sargon, here occurs as the name of a witness, while others are here still in vogue which first made their appearance in that time as the very early tablets preserved in the Rylands Library show. But it was a time of transition. We read of Kassites, a few scattered immigrants from the folk who ultimately rose to power and ruled Babylonia for an unbroken succession of 576 years. Here in the last three reigns of the First Dynasty they were in employ as harvesters, etc., and even were in position to purchase estates.

The state of society revealed by these texts is that well known for the time of the First Dynasty as described in my *Assyrian and Babylonian Laws, Letters and Contracts*, and particularly in the Code of Hammurabi. There are, however, many additional pieces of information. The consecrated women of the Hammurabi Code, votaries of the god or vestal virgins, are mentioned often. Here they are devoted to Zamama, the city god of Kish. The *shatam* of Kish, a man "over the storehouse" or granary of the temple and practically so important an official as to be in a position very like that of a Mayor, is often named. A still higher official, the *sakkanak* of Kish, also occurs. Certain amounts of corn were lent and specified as being part of the corn stored in Kish. H. DE GENOUILLAC has recently been excavating in Oheimer and much may be expected from his results which will throw light on these tablets.

The Babylonian while usually loyal to his city-god was tolerant enough to admit the divinity of the gods worshipped in other cities by other men. It is clear that he also paid due respect to the great god Marduk, who had been raised to supremacy in Babylonia by the rise of Babylon, of which he was the local city-god, to be metropolis of the First Empire. But previous conquests from the south had made Šamaš the Sun-god of Sippara, Sin the Moon-god of Ur, Istar the evening-star of Erech, revered and worshipped perhaps by the descendants of former conquerors. Nabû, the prophet-god of Borsippa, a sort of Mercury among the gods and patron of arts and writing, was much affected, especially by scribes.

But these have long been known. A god Ratarak appears to be new, perhaps Elamite; *Kanīsur*, already known from syllabaries or lists of gods is here first found in real life as worshipped in Kish. The temple Ê-Ibianu, which Zabum restored, is mentioned.

As is well known, the Babylonians named each year after some prominent event which had recently occurred. The names so given were used to date documents, as for example, "the 10th day of the month Nisan, in the year in which Hammurabi, the king, by the help of Anu and Bêl established his good fortune and overthrew with his own hand the land of Emutbalum and its king, Rîm-Sin." This was the full name given to his 31st year, to commemorate his "crowning mercy," the expulsion of Elamite power from Babylonia and the founding of the First Empire. If we could collect the full names of all the years and arrange them in chronological order we should have what might well be called *The Chronicles of Babylonia*. What can be done in this way may be seen from my *List of the Year-Names used to date the years of the First Dynasty of Babylon*. When these tablets were bought, a few fragmentary lists were known, drawn up by the ancient scribes, which were singularly defective for the reigns of Abêshu, Ammiditana and Ammizaduga. They would have completed the two latter reigns had they been at once published. This has since been done by UNGNAD and SCHEIL. The lists on which these scholars possibly relied belonged to the same lot. The lists and dated documents give abbreviated forms of the full year-names. Thus the above year-name is quoted as "the year Emutbalum." From such a short formula we could learn nothing of historical interest. Hence, while the lists fix the chronological order, the full names alone give us historical information. At places near the metropolis the events were so well known that short names would do. In the outlying provinces the fuller forms most often occur. These tablets are, therefore, still of value for the history and chronology.

There are many unusual phrases and terms of expression, not all of which can yet be explained. This might be expected in a provincial town, and the study of such phrases, often elliptical and conventional, can only be advanced by their future discovery in

new contexts. Everything which adds to this store of local usage is a gain. At the time the tablets were bought, although it was certain from the Letters of Hammurabi that the Babylonians kept great herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, very little was known about their customs with respect to agriculture. The great collections of tablets found by DE SARZEC at Telloh had yielded ample information on these matters for the time of the Second Dynasty of Ur. But the First Dynasty Tablets found at Sippara, Babylon, Larsa, and elsewhere were curiously silent. The tablets from Kish would have largely filled the gap in our knowledge and they are still of great value for this purpose. Most interesting facts are recorded as to the provenance of the slaves bought and sold. Tablets relating to the manufacture and delivery of bricks have interest for their rarity. Many of the seals are remarkable for fresh scenes or emblems. They were little cylinders engraved with the owner's device and served the purpose of a signature. They were mounted on a wire, between two metal plates in a frame and were impressed on the clay while still wet and soft. Not infrequently the little machine, not unlike a garden roller, was run all over the tablet, and sometimes the frame overlapped the cylinder itself, so that much of the writing has been rendered illegible. Nevertheless, the devices ought to be published as their use is dateable in nearly every case. A few school-boy's exercise tablets are in the collections, showing how the youthful scribe learned to write his cuneiform, but there is nothing to show that these came from Kish. There are also a few letters.

In fact each tablet was once selected for some feature of unusual interest or novelty, and the collections are still well deserving of publication.

THE PRESERVATION, AMONG THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS AND IRANIANS, OF PARTS OF THE BODY FOR RESURRECTION.

BY JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI

THE Papers and Notes by various scholars, in the Journal of 1911 of the Manchester Oriental Society on the subject of "Heart and Reins in Mummification and in the Literatures of the Near and Farther East" have suggested to me the subject of this Note.

In the matter of the belief about the future of the soul there is a good deal that is common between the ancient Egyptians and the ancient Irânians. I have dwelt at some length on this subject in my paper entitled "The Belief about the Future of the Soul among the ancient Egyptians and Irânians."¹ I have there shown the similarity under the following heads and sub-heads:

1. The soul was not a simple entity, but a composite one. The spiritual constituents of the soul among the Egyptians were the Ka, Ab, Ba, Sakhem, Sâhû, Khaib, Khu and Osiris.²

The spiritual constituents among the ancient Irânians were Anghu, Daêna, Baôdhangh, Urvâna and Fravashi. Out of these two sets, the following resembled one another:

(a) The Egyptian Ka, which was an indispensable constituent "similar to man and yet not a man," corresponded to the Iranian Fravashi. (b) The Egyptian Ab (heart) corresponded to the Iranian

¹ *Journal of the B.B.R.A. Society*, Vol. XIX., pp. 365-74. Vide my *Asiatic Papers*, pp. 137-146.

² *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, by Alfred Wiedemann, p. 240.

Daëna. (c) The Egyptian Ba, which according to Prof. Wiedemann corresponded to our idea of the soul, corresponded to the Iranian Urvana. (d) The Egyptian Sekhem, "the personified power of the strength of the deceased," corresponded to the Iranian Anghu which is replaced in some parts of the Avesta by Tevishi (strength).

2. The Egyptian belief about the judgment of the soul agreed to a great extent with the Iranian belief.

(a) Osiris, the Egyptian Judge, whose ancient name was Hysiris, *i.e.*, "many eyed," resembled Mithra, the Iranian Judge, who also was "a thousand-eyed." (b) Osiris and Mithra were both the Divinities of the Sun or Light. (c) Osiris and Mithra both held a club-like instrument in their hands as a symbol of authority. (d) Both had a weighing scale with them. (e) Both had others to assist them in the work of justice. The Egyptian Osiris was helped by Anubis, Horus, and Thoth. The Iranian Mithra was helped by Rashnu, Astad and Ram Khvâstra. (f) When the souls went before the Judgment seat, they went reciting some holy words expressive of their feelings.

3. The Egyptians and the Iranians both believed in Resurrection.

Now the other important point of similarity, which strikes one on the perusal of the papers in the above Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society, is the dedication of some parts of the body after death to different gods or spiritual beings. The idea of some kind of dedication for the purpose of some kind of preservation is common, while the details differ a great deal.

With the idea of preserving the body for the Resurrection the Egyptians embalmed and preserved not only the body (the Kha or the Xa) but also the intestines, heart, lungs and liver. These four were given in charge of four gods.¹

The ancient Iranians, who also believed in a Resurrection, also wanted to preserve the body from which the dead could be re-suscitated, but they resorted to the preservation, not in the *letter*, but in the *spirit*. In the *Bundehesh*, we read the following passage:²

¹ Wiedemann's *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 234-35.

² Chap. XXX., 6., S.B.E., Vol. V., pp. 122-23. Vide my *Gujarati Bundehesh*, pp. 154-55. Justi's Text, p. 72.

"At that time (of Resurrection) will be demanded bones from the spirit of the earth, blood from water, hair from plant, and life from fire, as they were accepted by them in the creation." The spirit (*mind*), referred to here, is the Yazata presiding over the objects. Spendarmad is the Yazata, presiding over earth, Aban over water, Ameretat over plants and Atar over fire. So, what we learn from this paragraph is this: On the death of a man, the different constituents that go to make up a body, viz., bones, blood, hair and life, pass into the possession or the spiritual protection of some Yazatas who are believed to preside over the different objects of Nature with which the elements were believed to mix.

Thus we see that here also we have a point of similarity. The Iranians also entrusted some of the constituents of the body—not the four members of the body as among the Egyptians, viz., the intestines, heart, lung and liver—to four spirits (*mino*) or Yazatas. But here, the entrusting or dedication, or preservation was not real but imaginary, not physical but spiritual, not actual but symbolic. There was nothing like embalming or mummifying the body or its members.

There was, however, one constituent of the body which the ancient Iranians actually and really did preserve in jars or boxes known in the later Pahlavi and Persian books as Astodans or ossuaries. The *Vendidad* enjoins this custom and the *Dadestan-i-Dini* speaks at some length about it. For the details I would refer readers to my previous papers on the subject.¹

¹ Vide my undermentioned Papers:

- (a) "A Persian coffin, said to be 3000 years old, sent to the Museum of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, by Mr. Malcolm, of Bushire" (*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. I., No. 7, pp. 426-41).
 "Quelques observations sur les Ossuaires rapportées de Perse par M. Dieulafoy et déposées au Musée du Louvre" (*L'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*. Séance du 30 October, 1889).
- (b) Vide Dr. L. C. Casartelli's Paper on "Astodans and the Avestic Funeral Prescriptions" (*The Babylonian and Oriental Record* of June, 1890, Vol. IV., No. 7).
- (c) Vide Mr. K. Enostranzav's Russian Paper on "The Ossuaries and Astodâns of Turkestan"; and for Mr. Polovtsoff's translation of this paper, my paper entitled "Mr. K. Enostranzav's Paper on the Ossuaries and Astodans of Turkestan, with a few further observations on the Astodan" (*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. VIII., No. 5, pp. 331-42.)

See also my *Asiatic Papers* and *Anthropological Papers*.

The Iranians believed that one Saoshyant, who will appear at the end of the present cycle of time, will raise the dead from their bones (*Ast*; Lat. *os*). He is therefore called Astavat Ereta, *i.e.*, one who makes the possessors of bones rise up. Hence arose the custom of preserving the bones. But the Iranians did not resort to a costly system like that of the Egyptians. It was enjoined that the Astodans need not be very elaborate or costly. They might be prepared of stone, of clay, or even of coarse cloth. These Astodans, which were of the form of cylindrical jars or boxes, were, for further security, placed in underground structures. It was very rare for a person—for a royal personage like King Cyrus—to have a separate super-structure over his astodan. The modern Zoroastrians have given up their custom of even preserving the bones in separate astodans. Their Towers of Silence contain the astodans or bone receptacles by themselves.

AN OSTRACON FROM ESNEH

BY J. G. MILNE, M.A.

THERE is in the Manchester Museum a potsherd [reg. no. 5487], found during Professor John Garstang's excavations in the "fish cemetery" of Esneh in 1905, which is inscribed with a somewhat interesting complaint. The author of the complaint was clearly an almost illiterate person; the writing is a rude and unformed hand, and the grammar and spelling are eccentric—so much so that towards the end the sense becomes very obscure. It is difficult to date the handwriting; it may be either first or second century A.D.

Below are given, in parallel columns, a transcript of the text, with division of words, and an attempt at a corrected reading, followed by a translation.

Αμμώνιος Πετῆσις
κατὰ Ταμεναύς Ερμίου
καὶ Ταχαντεςμαύς θυγα-
τηρ κυρίε μοι πεπίστευκα
αὐτὴν τὸν ἱερόν αἰν θυγα-
τηρ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐπιστάτης καὶ γυ-
νὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταβέβληκέ με
ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐκὼ παρα-
τέτωκα αὐτὴ τὰς κλῖτας
καὶ πεποίηκα αὐτὴ ὡς πατέρ
ἀν καὶ τὰ καμοῖς
αὐτὴ πεποίηκα καὶ λέ-
υηταν πατέρ
ἐμῶν

Ἀμμώνιος Πετῆσιος
κατὰ Ταμεναῦτος Ἑρμίου
καὶ Ταχαντεςμαῦτος θυγα-
τρός. Κύριέ μου, πεπίστευκα
αὐτῇ τὸ ἱερόν. ἦν θυγά-
τηρ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐπιστάτου καὶ γυ-
νὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταβέβληκέ με
ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἱεροῦ. ἐγὼ παρα-
δέδωκα αὐτῇ τὰς κλεῖδας
καὶ πεποίηκα αὐτῇ ὡς πατὴρ
ἂν, καὶ τοὺς γάμους (στὰ γάμοις)
αὐτῇ πεποίηκα, καὶ λέ-
γοιτ' ἂν πάτερ
ἐμῶν.

"Ammonios son of Peteesis against Tamenau's daughter of Her-
mias and Tachantesmaus her daughter. My lord, I entrusted to her
my shrine. She was the daughter of my overseer and (Tamenau's
was) his wife, and she has cast me out of my shrine. I gave her

the keys, and behaved to her as a father would, and provided her wedding-feast, and she would address me as 'My father.' "

The general complaint is clear enough: Ammonios, having entrusted the keys of a private shrine to the wife and daughter of his overseer, had been locked out by them. The complaint is made against both, but in the latter part of the document the writer refers to only one of the ladies: this is most likely to be the daughter, whom Ammonios claims to have treated with special kindness and who showed so little gratitude for his favours. In the last five lines his emotion seems to have overcome him, so that rather violent emendations are necessary to obtain any satisfactory meaning: the elucidation of the last four words, which baffled me, is due to a suggestion by Professor A. S. Hunt, with whom I have had the advantage of discussing the text.

It does not appear to what god the shrine which was the subject of dispute was dedicated: but this was immaterial to the argument. The Egyptian villages of the Græco-Roman period had numerous small shrines: for instance, in 115 B.C. an official return relating to the village of Kerkeosiris in the Fayûm, which was probably quite a little place, mentions thirteen shrines (P. Tebt. 88). These shrines could be privately owned: in three cases out of the thirteen the "prophets" in charge of the shrines held a fifth part, either by inheritance or by purchase from the government: and there are other instances of the transfer of ownership in a shrine. But they were not very valuable properties, apparently: five of the thirteen had a little land attached to them, which the "prophets" cultivated, the rest were returned as having no revenue—that is, presumably, no revenue from endowments: the priests might get some income from the offerings of worshippers. At the same date and in the same village the value of one-sixth share of a shrine owned by a certain individual is stated as one talent of copper (P. Tebt. 14): a wages list of a few years later from this district gives the daily wages of labourers as 120 drachmas, so that the capital value of the sixth share of the shrine in question was only 50 days' wages of a labourer.

EARLY ZOROASTRIANISM ¹

A REVIEW

BY L. C. CASARTELLI, M.A., D.LITT.OR.

THIS important and deeply interesting volume does honour both to our University and to our Society. I am not exaggerating when I say that it is one of the most considerable contributions to Avestic studies which have appeared for several years either at home or abroad. As such, it will go a long way to remove the not unmerited reproach of the neglect of Avestan research and Iranian scholarship in general in our British Universities, which one would imagine ought, of all others, to be foremost in this department of learning.

It would not be easy to mention a more complete or a more satisfactory presentment of the many obscure and difficult problems surrounding the religion and scriptures of Early Zoroastrianism, especially of the Gāthās, than these Hibbert Lectures of our distinguished colleague. With reference to the Gāthās themselves, let me note at once that, in the appendix, Professor Moulton has given us an entirely new English translation of all those ancient hymns. His version is indeed based upon that of Bartholomae, as well as upon that scholar's great lexicon, but our author is quite justified in saying that he has not followed his German guide slavishly, for evidently he has keenly examined the texts word by word and exercised a wise discretion in his choice. This new

¹ *Early Zoroastrianism* (The Hibbert Lectures, 1912), by James Hope Moulton, D.Litt., D.D., etc., Greenwood Professor of Hellenistic Greek and Indo-European Philology, Manchester University; London: Williams & Norgate 1913, pp. xix.+468.

English translation forms in some sense the most useful portion of the volume, and on the whole I feel that it may be commended as a reliable and correct rendering of the often obscure, sometimes almost unintelligible, texts which form the original.

But the most striking portion of this scholarly work is the study of the position and influence of what Dr. Moulton specifically calls Magianism in the evolution of the Zoroastrian system. It has long been admitted by Iranian scholars that the Avesta itself contains very much non-Aryan, probably Iranian, material. No critic has insisted more upon this than my revered master, C. de Harlez, who long ago pointed out that much of this material can only be traced to the influence of Central Asian tribes. To Professor Moulton all these influences and the heterogeneous elements which they produced in the Later Avesta seem to be summed up in the word Magianism. For him the Magi were an essentially Turanian race, a tribe of Central Asian *shamans*, with all the stock of sorcery, incantations, and strange and repugnant practices as regards marriage and the disposal of the dead and other un-Aryan characteristics which even to the present day cling to the term Magic. Long after the lifetime of the great Reformer, whose clear, simple and highly spiritual doctrine we have preserved to us almost complete and unaltered in the Gāthās, these Turanian Magi, in some manner which we do not exactly know, appear, so to speak, to have taken over the Zoroastrian system, absorbing it into, or rather leavening it with, their own peculiar doctrines and practices, whilst still retaining the name of Zarathushtra as the founder and prophet of the faith, together with those of the chief spirits and heroes of his cult and the greater part of his religious terminology, only, for the most part, strangely disfigured and distorted. The prophet himself, instead of the real, intensely human, man of the Gāthās, has become mythical, supernatural, legendary. Moreover, "one can hardly question the responsibility of the Magi for the ritual, or very nearly all of it. Zarathushtra, if we are to judge from the Gāthās, resembled the rest of the world's great prophets in his indifference to anything of the kind; and native Aryan religion had only a simple system, which would easily yield to the elaborate under stress of the tendency which everywhere

stimulates the growth of the externals of religion. Much of the ritual is of a kind which Eastern priests take pleasure in devising" (p. 221). I do not follow the writer further in his curious parallels with usages of the Baganda in Central Africa.

Speaking generally, Dr. Moulton's theory of Magianism and Magian influences in Mazdeism commend themselves strongly to me. But it must not be thought that this is the only problem treated of in this interesting volume. The date of Zarathushtra, to which the writer is disposed to assign a much greater antiquity than has been common among recent scholars; the locality of his birth and career, which, reverting to the opinion of Spiegel, he places in Bactria—"It only spread westwards when adapted by the Magi, and in the form they gave it," p. ix.); the character and origin of the Fravashis; the relations of Mazdeism with Semitic religions,—are all topics of prime importance discussed with profound scholarship and judgment, whether one agree with all the conclusions or not. The most difficult problem, as it has always appeared to me, of the relation between the Zoroastrian religion and that of the Achaemenid Kings of Persia, as preserved to us in their Rock Inscriptions, is solved by Dr. Moulton practically in favour of identity. I will not profess myself convinced; but one at least of the difficulties which has always weighed very much with me—I mean the absence in the Inscriptions of any reference to the Evil Spirit of the Zoroastrian creed, *Angro Mainyus*—receives at least a plausible solution in the suggestion that he may possibly be found under the title of *Drauga*, or the *Lie*, which often occurs in the Inscriptions, if we treat those words as proper names and write them with a capital letter. Etymologically, of course, the word is to be identified with the Avestan *druj*, commonly used for "demon," just as we speak of the "Devil" *par excellence* in reference to Satan. The suggestion is certainly ingenious.

Space does not allow me even to refer to a number of other most interesting points which the reading of these Lectures raises. But I think I shall have said enough to recommend this scholarly volume not only to specialists in Iranian studies, but also to all who are interested in the religions and literatures of the East and in the history of human thought.

PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM¹

A REVIEW

By W. H. BENNETT, M.A., D.D., Litt.D.

IN his book *Pentateuchal Criticism* Mr. Simpson gives a brief but admirable sketch of the history and results of modern Pentateuchal criticism, and of the evidence and reasoning by which those results are established. The book derives special interest from its treatment of recent attacks on modern views. Looking back for many years, one can remember a long procession of champions of tradition, each of whom proclaimed that he had overthrown criticism; and criticism has gone serenely on its way, not one penny the worse, and its position to-day is stronger than ever. The procession continues, and the new champions are as ineffective as their predecessors. But they make large claims, and there is much blowing of trumpets as to their supposed achievements; such titles as "The Bankruptcy of the Higher Criticism" are advertised broadcast, regardless of expense. Necessarily a certain impression is made on those who have little leisure for the critical study of the Bible. Experts might afford to neglect these attacks, but something needs to be said from time to time to reassure the ordinary readers of the Bible. We specially welcome Mr. Simpson's book, because it will serve this purpose. It was written at the late Dr. Driver's suggestion; he attached great importance to it, and intended to write an introduction. His place has been taken by the Dean of Westminster.

¹ *Pentateuchal Criticism*, by the Rev. D. C. Simpson, M.A., with an introduction by the Right Rev. H. E. Ryle, C.V.O., D.D., Dean of Westminster; pp. xiv., 207; Hodder & Stoughton, 1914; 2s. 6d. net.

Recent assaults on modern criticism of the Pentateuch have been various and manifold; Mr. Simpson refers to the more important; references to literature enable his readers to follow up the subject if they desire to do so. For instance, the statement is often made that Archæology, or the Monuments and Inscriptions, the discoveries in Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, etc., have "upset criticism." Such statements are, of course, absurd; but they sometimes mislead those who have no opportunity of testing them. Mr. Simpson shows that archæology is the "handmaid of criticism" (p. 93) as regards the Elephantine Papyri, the Hammurabi Code, the Amarna tablets, and generally. It might have been useful to have given a page or two to Naville's theory that the earlier portions of the Old Testament were originally written in Cuneiform and that the existing Hebrew is only a translation; a theory which meets with little support amongst Assyriologists.

Special interest attaches to the reference to Dahse's theory as to the Divine Names and the Pentateuch. Dahse attempts to show that the text is so uncertain that we never can be sure what Divine Name was originally written; that therefore we cannot use the names as criteria for the discrimination of sources; and that therefore the modern view of the Pentateuch collapses. Dahse does not state the matter quite so crudely, but that is what it amounts to.

The supposed uncertainty of the text is a deduction from the fact that in a number of instances where the Hebrew Text has, say, Yahweh, some MS. or MSS. of the LXX, mostly few and unimportant, have Elohim; and that sometimes some modicum of support for the various reading can be found elsewhere. Now if Dahse's reasoning were conclusive, it would not affect the general results of modern Pentateuchal criticism; the distribution of Divine Names is only an item in an immense mass of evidence, and the position would not be affected if these Names were no longer used as criteria. But if Dahse could prove his contention, it would be the most serious blow ever struck at the reliability of the text of the Old Testament, and therefore at the Old Testament as an authority on the history and religion of Israel. We know the importance attached by the Jews to the Divine Names; if these were varied

freely by the Scribes they can hardly have been more careful about other matters.

Doubtless, when once the question is raised, a student of textual criticism may say to himself, "Can I really be certain, even apart from Dahse's special pleading, that in any given passage, Yahweh stood in the text of the original completed Pentateuch?" He may possibly, in a pessimistic mood, go on to say, "Can I be certain of the wording or even of the substance of any particular passage in the Pentateuch?" Such scepticism is easy and obvious, and many have been carried away by it. Only a careful study of much cumulative evidence and of converging lines of argument teaches the student that he may be sure of the general accuracy of the text, in spite of a margin of uncertainty as to individual passages. We may thus be sure as to the general distribution of the Divine Names, on the principles of the mathematical theory of probabilities.

The work of Dahse and his supporters confuses the issues and promotes a crude scepticism. We are therefore grateful to Mr. Simpson for reminding us of the masterly criticism by which Dr. Skinner has shown the inconclusiveness of Dahse's reasoning. We entirely agree that: "Wiener and Dahse, then, have entirely failed in their attempt to demonstrate that, so far as the Divine Names are concerned, the Massoretic text is less reliable than the Septuagint; and [have failed to demonstrate] that these names are to so great an extent a variable element in the textual tradition that no inferences can be drawn from them as to the composite character and sources of the Pentateuch."

NOTES ON PHILOLOGY, ETC.

"HIP AND THIGH"

BY M. A. CANNEY, M.A.

IN Judges XV. 8 it is said with reference to Samson and the Philistines, that he smote them *shōk 'al-yārēk makkah gedōlah*. This the Revised Version translates "hip and thigh with a great slaughter," and the phrase "hip and thigh" is explained by commentators to be apparently a proverbial expression for a great slaughter or a complete overthrow. In that case, the writer first uses a proverbial expression and then adds a prosaic explanation, or, as seems more likely, from force of habit adds, unnecessarily, to a rarer phrase, an expression (*makkah gedōlah*) which had become almost stereotyped.

The literal translation of the first phrase, if we take *shōk* in its common meaning, is "leg upon thigh." Prof. G. A. Cooke (*Judges*, in "Cambr. Bible," 1913) interprets this to mean "so that the limbs of the slain fall one upon another." Others have supposed that the phrase was a wrestler's expression, meaning "to trip up" (see G. F. Moore, *Judges*, in "Internat. Crit. Comm."). But if this kind of interpretation is correct, it seems to me more likely that the phrase "leg upon thigh" means with one leg drawn up and resting on the opposite thigh. This attitude may have been supposed to denote that an enemy was mortally smitten. The meaning will then be "and he smote them mortally with a great slaughter."

But the purpose of this Note is to urge that probably all attempts to take *shōk* in the ordinary way are mistaken, and that in this passage the form may be not nominal but verbal. It may be the

Infinitive Absolute of a verb *shūk*. Hebrew *shūk* would be equivalent to Arabic *saka*. As a verb, it does not occur elsewhere in Biblical Hebrew, unless the form in Psalm lxxv. 10 belongs to the same root (which seems to me possible). The Arabic root, however, is used of "driving" cattle (*Qur'an*, Sur. xix. 89), clouds or rain (vii. 55; xxxii. 27), and persons (xix. 89; compare, in the traditional saying given by Lane, "driving the people with his staff"). It is used also of sheep or goats "pressing" one upon another. Often it may be translated "urge" or "impel."

Such root-meanings suit three Hebrew nouns, which may be regarded as derivatives (in spite of BDB's assumption of several different roots). *Shōk* is the member that drives the body along ("the leg"); *shūk* is the place to which men and cattle are driven ("the street"), just as *midbar* is the place to which cattle are driven away ("the desert"); *teshūkah* is a strong natural or brute "impulse" (Gen. iii. 16, iv. 7; Cant. vii. 11). There is thus a strong presumption in favour of the use of a Hebrew verb *shūk*. In Post-Biblical Hebrew indeed a verb is used in the Hithpōlēl with the meaning "to long for." In M. Jastrow's Dictionary this is explained as a Denominative from *teshūkah*. But this explanation is not necessary. The verb may well be primary. The Hithpōlēl would mean "to be impelled" or "to feel an impulse." We have found that in Arabic the root means sometimes "to press upon." This meaning might easily pass over into "to attack" or "to strike." In the phrase *shōk ʿal-yārēk*, therefore, taking *shōk* as the Infinitive Absolute of a verb *shūk*, the meaning may be "striking (upon) the thigh." The Semites regarded the thigh as a seat of life and especially of procreative power (Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 1894, p. 380, N. 1). The phrase would therefore denote ruthless extirpation of the enemy. This would give us as the literal translation of Judges xv. 8, "and he smote them, striking upon the thigh, a great slaughter." For this kind of use of the Infinitive Absolute, where we have a root different from that of the finite form but with kindred meaning, we may compare Deut. ix. 21 (*wa-ekkōth 'otho tāhōn hētēb*, "and I beat it to atoms, grinding it thoroughly;" see R. H. Kennett, *A Short Account of the Hebrew Tenses*, p. 90).

NAHUM II. 8

BY M. A. CANNEY, M.A.

THIS verse has been found very difficult to translate, owing to the obscurity of the first words. The first three words read in MT *we-hussab gullethah ho'alāthah*. RV translates "and Huzzab is uncovered, she is carried away," which seems to assume that Huzzab is the name of the queen of Nineveh (see Driver in the "Century Bible"). But, as the International Critical Commentary (1912) points out, a person of this name is entirely unknown, and the form is one that is not found elsewhere in feminine proper names. It has been urged that a reference to the goddess of Nineveh would be more likely than a reference to the queen. "The latter plays no conspicuous part in Assyrian history, while the goddess occupied a very large place in the minds of the Assyrian monarchs" (ICC). Accordingly, some commentators have sought to find in *h-ss-b* or in the following word the name of an Assyrian goddess.

The conjecture that the goddess of Nineveh is referred to seems to me very plausible. But we need not seek for the name of the goddess. A word *sāb* occurs in Numb. vii. 3 and Isa. lxi. 20 (Plural), apparently in the sense of a covered wagon. With this word has been compared the Assyrian *sumbu=subbu* "wagon, cart" (see on Numb. vii. 3 in *SBOT* Heb.). In both Old Testament passages the word may be a gloss; but in any case the word has been preserved. It seems to me that this is perhaps the word which best explains Nah. iii. 8. *Hussab* should be pointed *hassāb*. And *hassāb* is "the car" of the goddess. The two verbs that follow are feminine because the car is identified with the goddess herself. The fourth word of the verse (*mēnahāgōth*) I would take in the sense "guide" (cp. LXX) a sense which it often has. After *mēnahāgōth* I would read with Nowack (in Kittel) *hōgōth* (cp. Isa. xxxviii. 14, lix. 11). The translation will then be: "and the car (of the goddess) is uncovered (and) taken off, her maids guiding (it), making a moaning (sound) like the sound of doves, beating upon their breasts."

ISAIAH LIII. 7

I.

BY W. L. WARDLE, M.A., B.D.

THE words at the beginning are difficult—*niggas wēhû nā'āneh*. The last word is generally taken as Tolerative Niphal—he suffered himself to be oppressed, he submitted. But even so, the *wēhû* does not seem quite natural. Grætz, Gunning, Cheyne, and Box accordingly transpose the conjunction to precede *nā'āneh*. Neither Duhm nor Marti regards the transposition as satisfactory. Probably the original text was *niggas wēlô nā'āneh*, but the latter word should be derived from *'anāh*=he answered, the Niphal of which verb is used in Ezekiel xiv. 4 and 7 in the sense "make answer." This would give the excellent meaning: "He was oppressed, but he made no answer for himself." Since, however, this conjugation of *'anāh*=he answered, is rare, and since the idea of oppression is prominent in the context, a scribe would naturally suppose the verb to be *'anāh*=he was bowed down. The change from *wēlô* to *wēhû* would then be inevitable, as unconscious or deliberate correction. The following words, *wēlô yiphtah pîv*, are repeated at the end of the verse. The repetition is most awkward, and commonly the remedy suggested is to cut out the words on their reappearance as an accidental duplication. If the theory of the text suggested above be true, the words on their first occurrence might well be omitted as a gloss giving the correct explanation of the two words *wēlô nā'āneh* which preceded in the original text. We should thus have as our translation:

"He was oppressed, but made no answer for himself,

Like a lamb that is led to the slaughter:

And, like a sheep dumb before its shearers,

He did not open his mouth."

The fact that apparently LXX has only one verb for *niggas* and *na'āneh* supports the suggestion.

If only 'ālam could be taken in its primitive meaning (to bind) instead of in its derived meaning (Niphal, to be dumb), we could, reading *ne'ēlam*, obtain a text even more symmetrical.

“He was oppressed, but he made no answer for himself,
Like a lamb that is led to the slaughter:
And like a sheep in the presence of its shearers,
He was bound, but he opened not his mouth.”

But the only use of 'ālam in the required primitive meaning is in the Piel conjugation (Gen. xxxvii. 7).

The presence of the Article in *kas-seh* and its absence in *kě-rāhēl* seems to distress Marti. But surely it is quite explicable on grounds of euphony! Nor can we see why he should regard “before his shearers” as dubious on the ground that shearing is an anticlimax after slaughtering. It is the silence, not the degree of suffering, that forms the point of emphasis.

ISAIAH LIII. 7

II.

By M. A. CANNEY, M.A.

MR. WARDLE's suggestion "He was oppressed, but made no answer for himself" seems to me a happy one. His more tentative hint, that possibly *ne'ēlam* would mean "he was bound" here, does not seem to me so likely. The verb *'ālam*—"to bind" is used only of binding sheaves (Gen. xxxvii. 7). It may be formed from the noun for "sheaf." In any case, in spite of the Lexicons, I doubt whether "to bind" is the primitive meaning of the verb *'ālam* which means "to be dumb" (cp. Ges.-Buhl, ed. 15, 1910, where for *'alam* "to bind" the Arabic *lamma* is compared). If we accept Mr. Wardle's *ne'ēlam* for *ne'ēlāmāh*, it would be better perhaps to assume a third verb *'ālam*—Arab. *'alima* "to suffer pain." This would give us, "He suffered pain, but he opened not his mouth."

ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE PERSISTENCE
OF ANCIENT BURIAL CUSTOMS
IN NIGERIA

By G. ELLIOT SMITH, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.

A most remarkable instance has just been brought to light of the persistence in West Africa at the present time of burial customs such as were practised in Egypt nearly forty centuries ago.

Last year Mr. P. Amaury Talbot, a District Commissioner in the Nigerian Political Service, had occasion to visit a strange and very ancient people, the Ibibio, a Southern Nigerian tribe living near the Gulf of Guinea. He found that both the Ibibios and a neighbouring tribe, the Ibos, had burial rites which "recall those of ancient Egypt." For instance, "among Ibos embalming is still practised." For the grave "a wide-mouthed pit" was dug and "from the bottom of this an underground passage, sometimes thirty feet long, led into a square chamber with no other outlet. In this the dead body was laid, and, after the bearers had returned to the light of day, stones were set over the pit mouth and earth strewn over all." Further, in the case of the Ibibios, "in some prominent spot near the town arbour-like erections are raised as memorials, and furnished with the favourite property of the dead man. At the back or side of these is placed what we always called a little 'Ka' house, with window or door into the central chamber, provided, as in ancient Egypt, for the abode of the dead man's Ka or double. Figures of the Chief, with favourite wives and slaves, may also be seen—counterparts of the Ushabtiu."

From the photographs illustrating Mr. Talbot's remarkable article in the *Journal of the African Society* (Vol. xiii., No. li, April, 1914, pp. 241-258), from which the above extracts are taken, many other remarkable points of resemblance to ancient Egyptian practices are to be noted.

MUMMIFICATION AND BRITISH FOLKLORE

BY G. ELLIOT SMITH, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.

IN the *British Medical Journal* for January 27th, 1912, a correspondent called attention (p. 224) to a common practice among the humbler folk in this country of placing on the breast of a corpse a heap of salt in a platter, and asked for information as to the origin of so curious a custom. On March 9th in the same journal (p. 588) Dr. Cecil Worster-Drought answered this query with the quotation from J. C. Wall's *Devils*: "The devil, Moresinus says, abhors salt for the very sufficient reason that it is the emblem of eternity and immortality." He added the comment: "the salt is placed on the dead body with the idea of keeping off the devil and his evil spirits."

In the reports of my investigations upon Egyptian mummies I have emphasised the fact that the essential procedure in the process of embalming in Egypt at any period when that practice was in vogue was the treatment of the body with common salt, either in the form of a saturated solution used as a bath, or in the dry condition placed upon the corpse. In early Christian times, when the latter method of embalming continued to be practised, in spite of the denunciation of so pagan a practice by the Christian teachers, large quantities of salt were placed around and upon the body. It may have happened that this use of common salt for the purpose of attaining what the Ancient Egyptians no doubt regarded as the essential factor in the continuance of some sort of existence after death was the reason for the belief which made salt "the emblem of eternity and immortality." If this is so, in the curious custom of placing salt upon the corpse we may have in modern England the persistence of a superstition born in Ancient Egypt.

H

A LIST *of* THE YEAR NAMES

used to date the years of the FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON, compiled from the Date Lists and from the dated documents of the period and arranged in their most probable chronological order.

BY THE REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, M.A., LITT.D.,

Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, and Canon Residentiary of Norwich.

Part I. Cambridge: A. P. DIXON, 9 Market St. 1911. PRICE 3/6.

This is the first part of Studies in the Date Lists of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The Babylonians gave to each year a separate name commemorating the most important event of that year from their own point of view. The scribes drew up lists of such year names in their proper chronological sequence for their convenience in reference to the dates. Besides being our most valuable evidence for the chronology of the period, the events recorded serve as Annals. These Date Lists accordingly have been much discussed by scholars. The author, having had exceptional facilities for consulting a great many hitherto unpublished dated documents, including the valuable collections acquired by the late lamented Professor H. W. Hogg for the Rylands Library and the Victoria University, has here made accessible a complete summary of the work done on the Date Lists by himself and others.

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